CHARACTER ASSASINATION IN MODERN HISTORY OF ORISSA

JITAMITRA PRASAD SINGH DEO

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ABOUT THE BOOK

With the implication of Non-co-operation movement, there was Kanika Meli (1921-22). It has been proved that it was the call of the Congress Party propagandists that then Kanika Raja was levying many unjust taxes and tenants should stop payment of land rents. Levying of many unjust taxes at Kanika ex-estate has been proved false. The double standard writings of Ananda Chandra Jena, Gopabandhu Das and Harekrushna Mahtab which mentions this, are proved not genuine. Thereby the character of then Raja of Kanika, who was Hero of Oriya Nationalism has been under estimated. With new findings and approach, the trend followed by all scholars so far, have been broken and it has been that without Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika, who was the right hand of Madhusudan Das, there wouldn't have been of Orissa Province.

ISBN : 81-87661-17-8 **Rs. 850/-**

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Orissa Historical Series No : 6

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by

JITAMITRA PRASAD SINGH DEO

R. N. BHATTACHARYA
KOLKATA 2001

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Published By

R. N. BHATTACHARYA

Publishers and Booksellers (Exporters)
6, M. M. Feeder Road
P. O. : Ariadaha, Kolkata - 700 057
Phone : 564-7048, Fax : 91-33-564-7048
E-Mail : rnbhatta@satyam.net.in
www.http.rnbhattacharya.com

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First Edition : Sept.-2001

ISBN : 81-87661-17-8

Price Rs. 850.00 $70.00/-

Laser Setting & Printed by

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PREFACE

Non-co-operation movement and Popular hubbub of Orissa, which emphatically deals with kanika Meli 1921-22 is not a new subject for study. Several writers have already dwelt on it, in their own way. However, a synthesis of the old datas, with the new discoveries of archival documents and a new approach to its various landmarks in the history of National movement and formation of Orissa Province, along with their repercussions has not so far been attempted by any writer. The present Book makes a modest attempt in this direction.

Raja Sir Rajendra narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika had remained pro British, for the formation of Orissa Province. With effiux of time, his character assasination has been done in the Modern History of Orissa. In the words of P. K. Mishra,[1] "The stand taken by the Raja of Kanika in the face of scathing Congress criticism was, indeed, commendable, when judged by later developments."

"Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo,[2] the Raja of Kanika ; born in 1881, adopted from the Ali family by the wife of Padmanabh Bhanja Deo of Kanika ; consecrated to rulership in 1894; became Raja in 1902 ; visited London with Madhusudan Das in 1907 ; joined Lincoln's Inn for a short period and completed two terms only; Member of the Bengal Legislative Council 1907-09 ; Member of the Imperial Council 1916-22 and Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council 1923-33 ; Vice-President of the Governor's Executive Council and Finance member in Bihar and Orissa 1929-33 ; a great protagonist of the Utkal Union movement ; closely associated with

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Madhusudan Das in organising the Utkal Union Conference and presided over its Berhampur session in 1906 ; presented memorial before the Secretary of State in 1917 for amalgamation of the Oriya speaking Tracts ; organised reception for the Simon Commissioner at Patna ; member of the Attlee sub-committee which recommended the formation of a separate province for the Oriya speaking people ; played host to the O'Donnel Committee in 1931 ; died in 1948."

The character of this Oriya stalwart has been painted black in Modern History of Orissa. How this happened and the causes which developed the Popular Hubbub has been the main topic of this work.

With the discovery of rare archival papers from Kanika Darbar Records, arguments without prejudice have been placed in this work. The bulk of the book has increased because of the exhibits and appendices, with are placed for ready reference of the readers, as most of them are new discoveries.

I hope this work will be appreciated by one and all, who read it with open mind. As lot of Exhibits and Appendices are given, repeations of opinions are found. Therefore indulgence of readers are requested.

I am thankful to R. N. Bhattacharya of Kolkata for taking up the publication of this Book, Raja Rabindra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika ; for providing me with all the Kanika Darbar Records ; to be shorted out and to my wife. Smt. Rajshree Devi for providing me solitariness, to complete this work.

15th August 1994,

Jitamitra Prasad Sing Deo
P.O. : Khariar-766107
Dist. : Nawapara, Orissa.

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PROLOGUE

In the modern history of Orissa, two important trends are the development of Oriya Nationalism, which worked for the formation of separate Orissa Province and the Indian Nationalism or the Freedom struggle. Both of these movements reached their goals or achieved their acomplishment by creation of Orissa Province on 1st April 1936 and Independence of India on 15th August 1947.

During the Freedom movement in India there was Non-co-operation movement within the period 1921-22. Non-co-operation upsurge had three levels : the phases of the all India movement as sought to be determined by the Gandhian Congress leadership, the role of distinct Social groups and Classes and most interesting and important of all, perhaps-the regional and local variations.[1]

The regional study of the Non-co-operation movement in Orissa, brings conflict into these signifying tendencies in Modern History of Orissa. The collision or mental struggle is the development of a Popular Hubbub in Orissa. The Popular Hubbub is that Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika was a tyrant, taxing his tenants much, therefore there was Tenant's agrarian agitation, there was Police firing, two individuals were killed, many wounded and Kanika Raja is responsible for the blood of the two

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innocent individuals. This Popular HUBBUB as criticism, is like wild fire, described in most of the scuff writings.

The role of Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika in making of Orissa Province was of animate importance, but because of Popular Hubbub against him, he has remained a fumigated genius of Oriya Nationalism. He was the right hand of Madhusudan Das and the man behind him. For the achievement of their interest, i.e. to create Orissa Province they became Pro British. The creation of Popular Hubbub against Raja of Kanika has degenerated his image. This has remained as a Crime or folly in Modern History of Orissa. Truth is vitiated by falsehood. A Nation lives in its present, on its past for the future.[2] Because of this readon, the work of 'Non-co-operation Movement and Popular Hubbub of Orissa.' is taken up, to expose the reality. It is never too late to mend or it is better late than never to expose more facts of genuine interest.

R. C. Majumdar[3] remarks that on March 24, 1921, a full dress debate was held in the Legislative Assembly on Non-co-operation, in course of which Sir William Vincent outlined the policy of the Government. He declared that the object of the Non-co-operation use to paralyze the Government, and for this purpose "there is no sourse of dicontent which they have not used," such as fomenting strikes of labourers, srtting tenants against Zamindars, etc. The Government was therefore justified in taking repressive measures to put down the movement.

The greatest example of setting tenants against Zamindars in Orissa, was the Kanika Meli 1921-

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22. The whole exhibits and appendixes in this book are the unexposed evidences which prove this. Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika, like a bold individual, have given his role in the formation of Orissa Province, while the uninformed writers are going on in one track, as shown in Popular Hubbub of Orissa, in their writings. Moreover, the Revenue Records of Orissa within the period 1918-1925 are missing and not to be found at Orissa State Archives. This shows that most probably human vandalism is responsible for the gaps of Revenue Records of Orissa, for the mentioned period. The culmination of writing ill of Raja of Kanika is so inflammatory or exciting that Prafulla Das[4] writes : "Rajendra though an acme tyrant was never the less extremely cunning and clever besides being proficient in speaking good English. He also acquired a workable knowledge of Revenue laws so far as it effects the interest of the land-lords. Hence he was accepted by the Zamindars and some princely States as their sole spokesman.

"Under the patronage of Madhusudan he came into contact with the movement for the establishment of linguistic Orissa and in that capacity, for a few years though, he was considered a leader-of the Oriya movement. Since the Oriya movement itself was limited to petitioning and cajoaling to the Government and appealing to their non-existent good wishes and love for the people, Rajendra did not find any contradiction in serving the interest of the Oriyas and the British Government at the same time. During those days of the Oriya movement, he was a donor to Satyabadi school and ofcourse, an admirer of Gopabandhu. He donated lavishly to the Kanika Library of Ravenshaw

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College, Lady Woodburn Ward and Kanika Cottages of the Cuttack Hospital and numerous Public institutions and earned a name as a great philanthropist and educationist. In this way he had almost mesmerised the general public of Orissa and their leaders within a few years. He was considered a benevolent land-lord, a charitable ruler, an exponent of Oriya language and literature, a leader of Oriya movement. His identification with the great Madhusudan was so complete that some people really believed the Rajendra would be Madhusudan's political heir in Orissa. Well-armed with those testimonials, Rajendra started fleecing his own people whose screaming could not penetrate into the steel wall of the halo created by his decades of efforts. The people were looking at him in utter awe and surprise for the breakneck-speed he was making his strides in. To them Rajendra looked much taller and larger than his size, his age and ability than persons much older. This was exactly what he wanted to be and perhaps what his mentor always strove to make him.

Rajendra had trained himself in the mould of an ultra modern Anglicized landed aristocrat.

"He fancied to have the most beautiful palace of the province, if necessary, by French Engineers. He started building a well organised steel-made-bureaucratic administrative apparatus so that he could squeeze the people to their last drop with a minium risk of popular reaction to resistance and nipping them in the bud at the slightest nod of his finger or head. His ever increasing extra-vagance, his high cost of royal living, his so called philanthropy and charity on tide Kanika, his fat donation to inflate his social and political structure,

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his patronage to English cause, his frequent visit to England, his regular Dinner parties hosted to entertain his English and Indian friends of high society and Royal house-holds in the company of buffoons, wine and women, damsels and debauchs, sycophants and flatterers, Court jesters and fortune tellers, his other luxuries and indulgences and in the words of J. S. Mill, "(his) stalking tigers in Bengal jungles, hunting the ibex in Kashmir, pigsticking, riding down Wild boar with lances or playing tennis," etc. required more and more money day by day. His demands were too heavy to be borne by a poor Estate like Kanika. The offers of the state were too slim to bear his weight." These words of prafulla Das seems to be jealous and envious expressions. The inflamation of blaming Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika is so high that in recent years, Sarat Kumar Rout[5] has written that kanika Raja had set persons, who poisoned Ananda Chandra Jena, the author of "Dukhini Kanika". It is a statement without any prove or evidence.

It is high time to dive into the Popular Hubbub of Orissa and know its reality. Therefore the Chapter I, begins with the Popular Hubbub of Orissa.

Let of repetitional writings are going on. Because of this reason ; Chapter II deals with the Prevalent views on Non-co-operation movement in Orissa and the Kanika Meli 1921-22.

One sided attack is going on, hence in Chapter III, the Kanika Darbar Records are exposed as exhibits.

The activities of Congress Party in Kanika area during Non-co-operation movement, volcanised the

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Kanika Meli of 1921-22, therefore it has been dealt in detail in Chapter IV.

Orissa Congress Leaders changed their stand on Kanika affairs, just after the Police firing. The prevailing direction as shown in the double standard Oriya writings of Ananda Chandra Jena, in his "Dukhini Kanika," and Gopabandhu Das, in his "Bandira atma-katha," have been followed by Harekrushna Mahtab, in his two writings "Dasabarsa-ra-Orissa," and "Sadhana-ra-Pathe," Harekrushna Mahtab in all his writings has mentioned that Kanika Meli 1921-22 was a tenant's agrarian movement. It has been proved in Chapter V that Kanika Meli 1921-22 was purely Socio-political.

In what manner Kanika Raja was the Right hand of Madhusudan Das or the Man behind Madhusudan Das is described in Chapter VI. basing on the letters of Madhusudan Das and other datas.

Madhusudan Das had great expectations from Raja of Kanika, who solved the financial problem for creation of Orissa Province. Therefore, without Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, there would have been no creation of Orissa Province and Madhusudan Das wouldn't have been successful in getting a homeland for the Oriyas, without him. This aspect is described in Chapter VII.

Conclusion is given in Chapter VIII. Eleven appendices are given at the end, to acquaint readers with the unexposed archival materials of Kanika Darbar, which are not found in Orissa State Archive. Very soon ; these documents ; will be reaching Orissa State Archive at Bhubaneswar.

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It is misfortune that detail Police records of Orissa are not found in Orissa State Archive. Police correspondences give true picture of the happenings. One of such exciting document, is a voluminous letter of Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika to Mr. Kelso, the D.I.G. of Police, Cuttack, given in Appendix VIII. Orissa State Archive should take steps to collect all the available papers from all the Police offices of Orissa.

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Chapter - One

POPULAR HUBBUB OF ORISSA

The popular hubbub in Orissa is that Kanika Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo was an acme tyrant,[1] was too hard a nut to be easily broken or brow-beaten[2] and was oppressing on the tenants, by levying many taxes. Prafulla Das[3] mentions that April 23, 1922 is a Red-letter day in the history of freedom movement in Orissa, On this day, fell to the British police bullet, Basu Sethi and Madhual, the first martyrs of Gandhian movement in Orissa.

Because of this attack or character assasination of Kanika Raja, the author wants to let the reality be exposed and in what circumstances there was police firing and who were responsible for this happening. In the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa, on the 25th August 1922,[4] a resolution was moved recommending an enquiry by a mixed committee into the disturbances in Kanika by Choudhury Bhagirathi Prasad Mahapatra. The resolution was defeated. The following is the text of the speech of the Hon' ble Mr. Mc Pherson, defence of government' s action, on the occasion :-

"Sir, I believe that there are some members from Orissa who desire to give the council the

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benefit of their local knowledge, which is not quite on all fours with that the Hon' ble mover, but it is possible that some of them also may want to speak in strange tongues, and the Hon' ble President thinks that it will assist the Bihar members if I cut in first and try to explain to the House in plain english what the question is all about. I am therefore speaking at this stage without waiting to hear what other Hob' ble members from Orissa have to say on the subject. While I regret that I must oppose this resolution on behalf of government. I welcome the opportunity which it gives me of making a statement to the council regarding recent events in Kanika. Government indeed considered before whether they should not make such a statement, in order to contradict the false and distorted reports which appeared in certain Calcutta papers at the time, but as more accurate accounts of the affairs which presented it in a truer light appeared in the local Orissa papers and the position speedily quietened down after the riots, government thought it preferable not to keep alive further memories of these events or to excite further controversy regarding them and therefore refrained from publishing any statement. They would have preferred if the matter could have rested there, but as this similar resolutions have been brought by members from Orissa which render further ventilation of the subject inevitable. Government are glad to take this opportunity of explaining the position. I must remark before going further that this is the most extraordinary case which I have ever been called upon to meet in the council. As presented by the Hon' ble mover it seems to rest entirely upon two

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booklets-anonymous productions. I think, but productions of which the Hon' ble mover seems to be so proud that one might almost suspect that he is the father of both bantlings. Well Sir, I had an opportunity of reading the translation of the first booklet "Dukhini Kanika" and more amazing collection of balderdash it has seldom been my fortune to read.

"Before discussing the happening in Kanika I would like to say a few words about the history of the estate and the physical features of the tract in order that members may be able to visualise more clearly the conditions under which this trouble in a corner of Orissa arose. As members from Orissa must know, Kanika is one of the old Peshkus Killas which at their first encounter with the British administration differed very little, if at all, from the areas which are now known as the Garjat mahals or Tributary states of Orissa. The Rajas of Kanika belonged to the same family as the Mayurbhanj Chiefs and their connection with Kanika dates back some seven hundred years. At the time when the British forces expelled the Marhattas from Orissa in the beginning of the 19th century, their status was that of the semi-independent rulers of a small principality and the special commissioners of the East Indian Company entered into treaty engagements with Kanika and other local chieftains of the same type, but whereas the Garjat chiefs by reason of their inaccessibility in their hill and jungle fastnesses retained their independence or semi-independence till they were acknowledged as the rulers of Indian states, the Peshkus Killas which were part of the deltaic tract of

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Orissa and were more accessible to the local administration, came under the general laws and regulations and were treated as ordinary zamindaries of the permanently-settled type. Tenant right might be said to have been non-existent at the beginning of the 19th century, but as the tract came under the influence of the general laws and this happened frequently on account of the numerous occasions on which for various reasons the estate was brought under the Court-of-Wards management, the tenants began to learn that they had rights like their brother cultivators in the Mogulbandi.

The area of the estate is about 440 square miles of which the major portion, about 260 square miles, is in the Cuttack district and 180 square miles in Balasore. It was in the Cuttack area that the recent trouble occurred though the Balasore portion was not free from agitation. The two portions of the estate are divided by the rivers Baitarani and Damra which enter the Bay of Bengal near the Chandbali port. The country was thus described by Mr. Sakhawat Hussain in his last settlement report of 1894.

The whole estate is deltatic. Its lower parts close to the seacoast consist of low marshy and dense jungles which become thinner and taller as they recede from the sea. Higher up are arable plains the lower portions of which are subject to salt water floods during storms and cyclones, the upper portions to inundations from freshets during rains and except some uplands and sandy table lands no portion can be said to be exempt from either floods altogether. It resembles the Bengal Sundarbans as regards its formation, swamps and jungles

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is much intersected by innumerable creeks its larger rivers in the hot months are brackish ; its soil it charged more or less with salt and the general appearance of the country in cultivated and arable parts is that of a reclaimed marsh.

Mr. Sakhawat Hussain described the tenantry as being unthrifty and imprudent, ignorant and priest-ridden, and although all this was written 30 years ago and no doubt there has been some improvement since, the general characteristics of the country and the people have really not changed very greatly. I have attempted to describe them because I think this is necessary in order to understand recent events. Members of council must not imagine that they are speaking of a country and people of the typical Bihar or even Oriya type.

I will now refer to the agrarian history of the tract because there has been a suggestion, more than a suggestion, that the *trouble in Kanika is agrarian and not political.* There were frequent settlements of the estate during the periods of Court-of-Wards management in which, partly as the result of the rise in prices and partly as a result of the reclamation of jungle, the rental of the estate gradually rose from about Rs. 50,000 in 1834 to Rs. 1,36,000 in 1894, not a very phenomenal increase for a period of 60 years in a tract that was only half reclaimed. At one time the rents used to be collected through village mustagirs or farmers, but this system was abandoned in favour of Khas management in 1894 because it was found that the mustagirs instead of helping the proprietors organized trouble at every revision

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of settlement. Here are some notes about the mustagirs from Mr. Sakhawat Hussain' s report.

"These mustagirs know nothing else beyond harassing the raiyats and trying to misappropriate the rents collected by them. They are unfaithful and untrue. Whenever any pressure is put upon them in consequence of their not paying to the estates the rent collected by them, they combine and form melis..... The mustagirs who were local officers in the Raja' s time had by their melis given a great deal of trouble to the former Rajas and have proved themselves quite intractable. It was their stubornness and obstinacy which drove Raja Benayak Bhanja in 1843 to make over his estate government for management. They have not as yet given up their old tactics, for they got up a meli this year too..... There were however no real grievances but only a mass of misrepresentations supporting a fictitious agitation which of course was bound to end in smoke and so it ended. The ignorant raiyats are very docile but liable to be easily led, and it is always easy for the wicked mustagirs to get up a meli which usually benefits a few leaders who are allowed to take charge of the common funds. As natural leaders of tenants, the mustagirs are mischievous and as collectors of rent from tenants, oppressive and unscrupulous."

Now I want the council to take note of this meli habit and of the existence's in the estate of these mustagir families, because the late trouble took the shape of just such a meli, though it was organized in a somewhat different manner from the old melis as I will presently show. The next point to which I want

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to draw attention is the mildness of the rents in the estate. The average rental of the last settlement was Re. 1-1-0 an acre and except in one or two very exceptional villages the highest rate for rice land was Rs. 2-8-0 an acre. There has since been an enhancement of two annas in the rupee, but that still leaves the rental incidence very low. Now the estate was under the Court-of-Wards from 1862 to 1902, that is, for a period of 40 years. It was released from the Court-of-Wards when the present proprietor Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo came of age in 1902. Many members of this council are, I think, *personally acquainted with the Raja, as he has taken a considerable part in the public life of the province.* He received a carefully education to prepare him for the responsibilities of his position, and I think he is generally acknowledged to have discharged those with credit. He is not an absentee landlord, he spends the greater portion of his time on his estate, he has the reputation of being liberal-minded and he displays great generosity not only towards his tenantry but also towards the general public of Orissa. I need only refer to his benefactions on behalf of higher education in Orissa. His relations with his people have been of the happiest kind until these events occurred, for he has always been most helpful to them when they have been afflicted with the calamity of flood to which the estate is from its position peculiarly liable. The Hon' ble member himself could not deny his personal tribute to the character and record of the Raja, but he does not consider him capable of running his own estate and he asks the council to interfere and save the Raja from himself and his own

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servants. He even suggests that the Raja is himself a suppliant for this precious committee of enquiry that is demanded on behalf of the people of Orissa.

Now it may be asked if the relations between Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo and the tenantry of Kanika are as happy as I have described, why did this present trouble arise ? The answer, I think, is firstly and chiefly because he had the courage publicly and strongly, to condemn the non-co-operation movement in Orissa, secondly because there are families in the estate who are prone to the meli habit, and thirdly, because there has been a long standing quarrel between the Raja of Kanika and his eccentric brother commonly known as the Raja of Aul, whose estate adjoins Kanika. I do not want to say much about this last cause, as the proprietor of Aul is under trial in certain cases which have some connection with the recent troubles, but the existence of the quarrel cannot be altogether ignored in this debate, as the proximity of Aul gave the agitators a convenient rallying centre. Chandbali was another centre.

It was in July of 1921 that the Raja of Kanika made a speech at Rajkanika when he openly condemned the non-co-operation movement and congratulated his tenants on having remained uninfluenced by the propaganda of the agitators. The non-co-operation party regarded this as a challenge, and set about deliberately to stir up trouble in the Raja' s estate. They found their opportunity in certain agrarian matters which were worked up into grievances, as I will presently show. The ignorance of the

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tenantry was exploited and they were told that they were being victimized by the Raja who was held up to execration as a creature of the Satanic government. Early in 1922 this agitation in Kanika came to the notice of the local officers, and in February 1922, the Collector of Cuttack, Rai Bahadur Brajendranath Ray, held a local inquiry into the so-called grievances of the raiyats. In the course of this inquiry he found that the record of rights made in the period 1889-94, when the Kanika estate was under the Court-of-Wards, had been correctly maintained, but that there had been changes in the following three respects :-

(i) the rental in the Cuttack portion of the estate was enhanced generally by two annas in the rupee about six years age by an amicable arrangement with the principal tenants ;

(ii) the forest cess or bankar. which was originally levied at the rate of four annas per holding per annum was raised to eight annas three pies during the management by the Court-of-Wards and was commuted in October 1910 on the petition of some of the principal tenants to a cess of six pies in the rupee ;

(iii) pasturage dues on buffaloes at eight annas per head were being devied.

Now, as regards the enhancement of rent, there was no legal grievance as the enhancement is protected by the first proviso to Section 34 of the Orissa Tenancy Act as it had been collected for more than three years, nor can there be any grievance whatever on the ground of hardship as the average of rents cannot have been increased by the enhancement beyond Rs. 1/4/0 per acre and this is much below the

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general average obtaining in the Mogulbandi of Orissa. The right to levy a forest cess was taken into the courts in 1912 and was decided in favour of the Raja. That decision has not since been questioned. The pasturage dues on buffaloes have been levied for at least 30 years, the rate in 1894 being annas four per head, and the levy was a perfectly reasonable one. It did not extend to village cattle used for purposes of agriculture, all of which enjoy freegrazing. In view of these facts the Collector of Cuttack came to the conclusion that the grievances of which the tenants complained were largely fictitious. I think the Hon' ble mover said that the result of the collector' s inquiry was to satisfy him regarding the reality of the grievances, but, as will be seen, my official papers tell me a different story. The collector endeavoured to arrange an amicable settlement and advise the tenants, in any case, to pay into court such dues as were undisputed and to leave the Raja to maintain in the courts the rights which he claimed and which they denied. The Commissioner of Orissa who also made a local inquiry both in Kanika and in Chandbali on the 8th and 9th of March came to the same conclusion and gave the tenants similar advice.

Now the council may well wonder that on these slender materials the local non-co-operation agitators met with the success they did in this remote corner of Orissa, but I think that members have some knowledge of the extent to which the non-co-operation poison permeated Orissa during the past year. They may have read the judgement of the cases tried by Mr. Houlton and Rai Bahadur Dayanidhi Das

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in which some of the leaders, including Babu Gopabandhu Das and Doctor Ekram Rasool, were recently convicted under the criminal law amendment act. The most prominent leader was Babu Gopabandhu Das. We all know him as an ex-member of the late Legislative Council, an honest, earnest man, but with always some of the characteristics of a crank or faddist. The influence of Mr. Gandhi was too much for his ill-balanced mind and he went over to the non-co-operation party, taking with him all the organization which he had built up in his Satyabadi school. These apostles of non-co-operation spread all over Orissa and did incalculable mischief. They were allowed a long rope at first by the local officers, but they have since been pulled up. In March-April 1922 the non-co-operation organization was going strong and it was particularly strong in this out-of-the way corner in Balasore and Cuttack. Perhaps Hon' ble members would like me to give some more evidence in support of this statement than I have so far given. I will therefore read a few extracts from the reports that have been received on the subject.

Just at this time (that was about July or August 1921) the non-co-operation movement spread to Aul and Kanika. Kanika offered great resistance to the movement. Complaints appeared in the Samaj, Utkal Dipika and Seba newspapers which are non-co-operation organs that the Raja of Kanika was obstructing the non-co-operation movement. In a speech delivered at Aul on the 15th August 1921 one Ram Das Babaji, a non-co-operation preacher strongly urged the tenants of Aul not to recognize the

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Court-of-Wards. He described the Raja of Kanika as a creature of the satanic sarkar, opposed to the non-co-operation movement in the interests of the Sarkar and bestowed plenty of praise on the proprietor of Aul. This Ram Das is an up-country youth who was brought up on charity by the Feudatory chiefs of Athgar. He is a fire-brand, a passionate speaker with a vulgar tongue and being in the grab of a Sadhu commended great influence over the mass. He came from Aul to Kanika and made most exciting speeches. The students of the Kanika High School left the school in a body and attempts were made to break that school and establish a national school instead. A Swaraj ashram was established, a Swaraj jajna was held and Swaraj flag was hoisted on a tree which was named Gandhibata. Bhagirathi Mohanty, Secretary of Utkal Provincial Congress Committee, Jadumani Mangaraj the most rabid non-co-operation speaker and others visited Kanika to strengthen the propaganda. To present further trouble I had Ram Das arrested at the end of September 1921. He was prosecuted under Section 108, Criminal Procedure Code and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. On the date of Ram Das arrest, Jadumani Mangaraj came to Kanika from Aul and made a speech in the course of which he predicated that the Raja of Kanika would soon feel the consequences of the arrest of Ram Das and that one of the consequences would be the non-payment of rent. Three local agitators, viz. Ananda Chandra Jena, Joyram Rai and Upendra Subudhiray joined the movement and displayed great activity in propaganda work. The first was a teacher of a primary school and removed from

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service for improper conduct. The second was a teacher of the High English School and dismissed for taking part in the non-co-operation movement. The third was a potdar under the Raja and resigned his post to join the non-co-operation movement. The three men began to work up the tenants and they were soon joined by another ardent congress worker named Madhusudan Patnaik of the Tigiria feudatory state. As the result of their efforts arbitration sabhas and circle sabhas sprang up at different centres and a large number of tenants got themselves enrolled as members. In January 1922 a mahasabha or supreme association was established at Ayetan with the aforesaid Ananda Chandra Jena and Joyram Rai and one Dinabandhu Khandaitray as leaders. Dinabandhu was a leader of the meli in 1906........ Aul thana which included 3 unions of Kanika was selected by the District Congress Committee as one of the places fit for the adoption of mass civil disobedience and the tenants were led to believe that Swaraj would be attained by the end of 1921 and that then nobody would have to pay rent.

Sir, these are the official reports which were received by government, and I ask the council whether it can be denied in the face of these reports that the non-co-operation party in Orissa made a most strenuous effort to stir up trouble in this remote corner of the division. Well, as a result of all this agitation a section of the tenants under the influence of the non-co-operators and of certain dismissed servants of the Raja set themselves to form a meli against their landlords. Rumours were sedulously

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spread amongst the more ignorant raiyats that the British Raj had come to an end and that under Swaraj which had at last been achieved no rents were payable. Where persuasion of this kind proved ineffectual and tenants were still inclined to pay their rents they were boycotted and intimidated. As a result of these efforts a meli was formed which embraced over 100 villages and contained as many as 4,000 members. A regular council with office-bearers was established at a village called Meghpur.

It was not long before the leaders of the meli resorted to violence. Numerous inroads were made on the reserved forests of the Raja, and a considerable amount of timber was misappropriated. Persons were also compelled to join the meli against their will and to contribute to its funds. The situation became so threatening that the sub-divisional officer of Kendrapara was compelled to issue notices under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code prohibiting meetings in the area. This notice, however, did not prove effective. On 18th April at village Patarpur a peon of the civil court accompanied by there peons of the decree-holders went to serve notices on certain judgement-debtors. They were assaulted by a crowd of some 400 people, and several of them were severely injured. A case was started under Section 147 of the penal code, and on the 20th April the Inspector of Police at Kanika proceeded to arrest the accused. He was surrounded and cut off from his men by a crowd of 2,000 persons which rescued the prisoners by force. On hearing of these incidents, the Superintendent of Police, Rai Bahadur Shrikrishna Mahapatra

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immediately left for Kanika. On his arrival he found a somewhat alarming situation. The members of the meli had been arming themselves with lathies and attacks were meditated on the police and also on the Raja of Kanika's house. The superintendent took with him a force of 25 armed police and proceeded to break up and disperse the various crowd which were moving in the vicinity. In several cases the crowds were scattered and ran as soon as the police approached them with fixed bayonets. While the police, however, were on their way to Meghpur, where, they had been informed, a mob was concentrating with the object of attacking the Raja's house, they encountered a more aggressive crowd of over 1,000 persons at Jorole. This crowd advanced in a threatening manner and made it clear that their intention was to rescue the prisoners whom the police had arrested earlier in the day. The superintendent had his men in two ranks, two sections of each armed with balls in the rear rank. When the superintendent realized that the mob was bent on attacking him, he ordered one section of the front rank to fire a round of buckshot at about 60 yards distance. This produced no effect, and the second section fired another round at a distance of about 40 yards. Inspite of this, the mob still advanced. At a distance of about 30 yards a section of six in the rear rank opened fire with balls. One man fell dead, and on seeing this, the mob ran away. Subsequently another deadbody was brought in. Six men were treated for wounds in the Chandbali Hospital. In each case the wounds were slight and only few of them had to be treated as indoor patients.

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When news of this occurrence reached Cuttack, the District Magistrate Mr. Toplis started immediately for Kanika as also did the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Kelso. The commissioner also directed the sub-divisional officer of Bhadrak and the Superintendent of Police, Balasore, to proceed there to co-operate with the Cuttack officers as it was apprehended that the disturbances might spread to the adjacent district. The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police paid visits to a number of the more disturbed villages accompanied by the armed police. In some cases the villagers had fled, but gradually they returned and, representing to the District Magistrate that they had been led astray, asked for forgiveness and promised to refrain from such conduct in the future. It is quite clear that the raiyats in this part of Orissa, who are peculiarly ignorant and gullible had been farmly convinced that the British Raj had come to an end, that the police were powerless and would not in any case venture to open fire. It is even said that many of them believed that a force of Gandhi's army was on its way from Ranchi to assist them against the Raja and the police-why from Ranchi I do not quite know, unless it be that, that is the headquarters of the military police. The fact that the Superintendent of Police opened fire when he did, proved to them that they had been misled and averted the more serious bloodshed which would almost certainly have ensued if the situation had been allowed to develop further.

Since these events there have been several prosecutions both against the rioters and

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against the persons pulling the strings in the background. A small force of additional police has been posted to the area to keep the peace for six months. It may be asked why ? Because for about three months most of the armed police of Cuttack had been kept in Kanika. They could not be kept there indefinitely, and it was feared that there would be a recrudescence of trouble if they were removed and no substitute sent. One fourth of the cost will be paid by the Raja himself and three-fourths by the people. On a rental of about one lakh of rupees the share payable by the latter will average two annas only per rupee of rent.

If I am now asked what objection there is to a committee of inquiry, my first answer is that there is nothing left to inquire into. My present statement will have shown that we know already all there is to be known both about the agrarian history of the state, the alleged grievances and the facts of the riots. But if anything further were needed to show the fictitious nature of the grievances, a perusal of the pamphlet called "*Dukhini Kanika*" of which we have already heared so much would in my opinion be sufficient. *This is a partisan pamphlet which tries to paint as black a picture as possible of Kanika administration, but an analysis of it shows that the complaints made are mostly ridiculous.* They could be paralleled in any big estate of the province. The Hon'ble mover stated that he had prepared a synopsis of the pamphlet for the information of the council. I have also prepared a synopsis and it might be interesting to compare the two. According to mine, the first grievance is that the estate

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maintains dispensaries, but when the people go there for treatment they get no medicine. The second grievance is that the estate maintains schools, but it is difficult to obtain admission to them.

"THE HON'BLE PRESIDENT : I would like to point out to the Hon'ble leader of the House that he is setting a very bad precedent by discussing pamphlet which come from outside".

"THE HON'BLE Mr. H. Mc. Pherson : Well, I will quote no further from the pamphlet".

As regards the riots, we have the records of the criminal cases to supply us with all the facts. Moreover Kanika is included in the survey and settlement programme of the Orissa settlement. The Balasore area will come under the operation in less than two years time and the Cuttack operation probably one year later. A new record-of-rights will then be prepared and the accuracy and legality of the estate records will be fully tested. Nothing at all would therefore be gained by a committee of inquiry from the agrarian point of view while the operations of such a committee would be most disturbing to the tenantry. The poor gullible fools have had enough trouble already from the attentions of the enlightened apostles of Satyabadi whom they must be wishing now at the bottom of the Bay of Bengal. What they most want now is to be left alone, and government cannot at all agree to any proposal that a joint committee of inquiry should be despatched into their midst.

"With these words I oppose the resolution".

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The situation on which police firing took place is fully explained in the above speech. Anand Chandra Jena was the first to write about the explained in the above speech. Anand Chandra Jena was the first to write about the exploitation of Kanika Raja in *"Dukhini Kanika"*, published in 1922. To counter this writing, the daughter of Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo was Kanakalata Devi and she had written "Dukhini Orissa". Mc. Pherson, the government's defence has described it as a partisan pamphlet, which tries to paint as black a picture as possible Kanika administration, but an analysis of it shows that the complaints made are mostly ridiculous. The purpose of the writing of *"Dukhini Kanika"* by Anand Chandra Jena, can be well explained from the speech of Babu Pitabas Patnaik in the legislative council of Bihar and Orissa, which goes thus :-

BABU PITABAS PATNAIK[5] : I want to show the status of the author Anand Chandra Jena is a tenant of Kanika Raja. He is paying a rent of Rs. 2 per annum and at the same time he was a master in a primary school from where he has been dismissed. He is the author. He appealed to the Raja of Kanika, but that was not heard because he was dismissed by the education department. I shall point out to you that in 1921 in the last flood the Raja of Kanika took so much trouble that half of his income was spent in relieving and redressing the grievances of his people without any aid from outside. One of the papers of Orissa has said, 'the country is, in fact, in need of having many dozens of Kanika among the zamindars to look upon the needs of the tenantry with open eyes

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and sympathetic heart.' This is a remark in the leader of a paper of Orissa, and this sentiment has been shared by men all over the country and this was the relationship between the Raja and the tenants two years ago. Now what led to this mishap ; that can be answered in two lines. It is stated that there was enhancement of rent and this enhancement caused much grievances to the people. The tenants deposited the rent without paying it to the Raja. To this I will give a perfectly satisfactory answer to the House. Not being satisfied with the judgements that have been passed in criminal cases I sent for the original statement of that gentleman who is the author of these things.

"During my past experience of 18 months in the non-violent non-co-operation movement I have come to the conclusion that the people of Orissa are not yet ripe to carry on the sacred movement. I yet honestly believe in the movement. I have worked hard with heart within and God overhead and with my utmost capacity but now I see that he, with whom I had honour and faith, has given evidence against me, and the people for the benefit of whom I had to suffer so much have confessed that I instructed them to rise against their landlord. I do believe that the people of Orissa are not yet ripe for the sacred movement".

As regards Kanika, when the tenants had been paying their rents for the last six years and when they have suspended their rents this year, it is clearly believed that the all-India movement is solely responsible. While I was in charge of this part of India. I am responsible for the breach of peace.

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THE HON'BLE THE PRESIDENT Whose statement is this ?

BABU PITABAS PATNAIK : This is the written statement filed by Babu Madhusudan Patnaik in a case. Then again he says :

"Suffering is the badge of the uplift of a nation's life and when the people have not yet learnt to suffer, there is no salvation for a nation".

THE HON'BLE THE PRESIDENT : The hon'ble member should not read the whole things.

"BABU PITABAS PATNAIK : From this it is pretty clear that this enhancement of rent is no reason for this mishap and it is admitted by the non-co-operators. On the whole it should be seen that against the statement of the Raja of Kanika and also the judicial decision of the responsible officers, from what the Hon'ble mover has taken from "Dukhini Kanika" or my other friend heard from passengers while travelling in the railway train should not be taken into account for starting an inquiry."

Other speeches (vide : Appendix-I) delivered on Kanika meli, in the Legislative Council of Bihar & Orissa are also interesting. Babu Pitabas Patnaik's speech explains that in which circumstances Anand Chandra Jena wrote "Dukhini Kanika". This "Dukhini Kanika" and a letter of Anand Chandra Jena to "Utkala Dipika" dated 1.4.1922 has done lot of character assasination of Kanika Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo and informs that behind the rising of the peasantry was the crude reality of exploitation. They used to be forced to sell the bulk of their

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harvest (paddy), leaving very little for them to live on. This was then sold to dealers out the estate, at two or three times the cost price. They could not sell their produce in the markets as per the existing system. At times, they were forced to work for constructing roads and bridges, without wages. Besides performing forced labour, they were made to pay eight annas per acre, whenever bridges were built. They were exposed to a brutal system of taxation. Thus, they paid a forest rent of four annas. This had been doubled and consolidated with the land rent. However, they were not allowed to enter the jungles. They also had to pay road cesses and pasturage dues on buffalows at 8 annas per head. On top of this taxes had been increased in the Cuttack portion of the estate, the area where the movement was the strongest. An interesting feature was that when the peasants needed loans to meet the demands of the estate, they were not allowed to borrow from other money-lenders, but only from the estate, obviously at high interest rates.[6]

Anand Chandra Jena's writing was circulated like wild fire and Gopabandhu Das also believed it. The popular hubbub against Kanika Raja has become so much common that scholar like Shreeram Chandra Dash[7] also repeats and while writing of Gopabandhu as a non-co-operator mentions that the situation in Kanika had reached boiling point. Inspite of terrific oppressive measures of the authorities and numerous arrests and gagging order under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. the people of Kanika were not subdued ; they rose in revolt against the

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artitrary taxation measures and the oppressive activities of the Raja Bahadur of Kanika and his minions. The Raja went among the people to pacify them and promised redress of their grievances. He had persuaded the people not to stop payment of land revenue. The people had been so much incensed that no persuasion was of any avail with them and they stopped payment of land revenue. *The Raja Bahadur was undaunted. He fired on the assembled peasants and got a number of them killed.* Hundreds were arrested, many more were injured, women were molested, properties were looted and houses were set on fire ; still there was no weekness among the people. As was expected, the congress workers were held responsible for this outbreak and prohibitory steps were taken against them. Ghastly stories of oppression in Kanika were published in the columns of the Samaj, and this provoked the ire of the Raja Bahadur against the editor Pandit Gopabandhu Das. The Raja Bahadur started a number of defamation cases against the editor. All these steps could not bow down Pandit Gopabandhu whose heart was crying for the oppressed humanity. Gopabandhu went to Balasore on the 14th May, 1922 to attend a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee. This meeting of the P. C. C. set up a committee to enquire into the allegations of the tenants of Kanika against the Raja Bahadur and to further the cause of this enquiry. Pandit Gopabandhu, the President of the P. C. C. went to Bhadrak and got down at the station on the 16th with Sri Bhagirathi Mahapatra, Secretary, P.C.C. Soon after his arrival he was served with a gagging order under section 144 by the S.D.O. Bhadrak who

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directed him not to address any meeting within the sub-division. Gopabandhu had no mind to challenge authority on this simple question and so after addressing a closed-door meeting of the Bhadrak sub-divisional political conference, he went over to Jaleswar for a visit for a couple of days and came over to Satyabadi to take rest. Inspite of his sudden illness on his way to Satyabadi, the District Magistrate, Balasore served on him another order under Section 144 Cr. P. C. expelling him from his district. From Satyabadi Gopabandhu went over to Puri on the 29th May 1922. There he received a notice from the S.D.O. Bhadrak informing him that a case had been started against him at Bhadrak on account of his defiance of the order under Section 144 at Bhadrak on the 16th last. Two days later while he was coming back from his morning ablutions in the Narendra Tank at Puri the inspector of police met him and showed him a warrant of arrest issued by the District Magistrate of Cuttack under Section 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for the addeged offence of organising a Swaraj Volunteer Crops. Glancing through the arrest warrant, Gopabandhu exclaimed, "Oh, you have come at last : I was waiting for this for a long time". He reached home, put on his dress and left for the station as a prisoner, without even making the inspector wait for his breakfast.

The above mentioned writing of Shreeram Chandra Dash, which mentions, "The Raja Bahadur was undaunted. He fired on the assembled peasants and got a number of them killed," seems to be an ignorant statement. The scholar shouldn't have expressed such unawareness

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and spurious remark. Because of police firings during national movement, the local Rajas, chiefs and zamindars are not to be blamed, because peace and order including law were maintained by government police and the local Rajas (excluding the Feudatory chiefs) had nothing to do with the police actions. Kanika was an estate in British India and in estates, the police was maintained by British government. When the Kanika Raja had no police force with him, how it would had been possible, that he fired on the assembled peasants ? The police firing as mentioned earlier was ordered by District Superintendent of Police, Rai Bahadur Shrikrishna Mahapatra.

Shreeram Chandra Dash[8] further mentions that Gopabandhu from the very beginning of his active political life had been interested in the affairs of Kanika. *The Raja Bahadur of Kanika was a very exacting zamindar and he had levied innumerable taxes on the people of his zamindari. It is said that there were 64 kinds of taxes which the people of Kanika had to pay and there was nothing which they enjoyed free.* This was too much for the people and when they resisted these illegal exactions, the Raja Bahadur with the help of Dewan Bahadur Shrikrishna Mahapatra, the then Superintendent of Police, oppressed the people in diverse ways. The two newspapers of the time the "Samaj" and the "Utkal Dipika" wrote condemnatory articles on the oppressive activities of the Raja and subsequent police excesses and filled up the pages of the newspapers with harrowing tales of affairs in Kanika. Even when Gopabandhu was being marched into jail he had not

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forgotten these luckless people and when his colleague Niranjan Patnaik requested pandit Gopabandhu for a parting message to his country-men, Gopabandhu said, "There should be an independent and impartial enquiry about the conditions in Kanika. This is the foremost duty of the Oriya people. Any attempt for an enquiry creates panic among the rulers. I beseech my own people as also the people of Bengal and Bihar to cause an enquiry to be made into the affairs of Kanika without any further loss of time. I am afraid, the people there are feeling panicky and helpless. My arrest is intended to prevent this enquiry. I therefore request you Niranjan Babu, and through you the people of Orissa to expose the misdeeds of Kanika and conduct an enquiry." In addition to the two cases filed against Gopabandhu under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Dewan Bahadur Shrikrishna Mahapatra filed a third case, a case of defamation regarding the publication of news and views on the affairs of Kanika in the columns of the "Samaj". Gopabandhu was determined to utilize the judicial forum for exposing the misdeeds of the Raja Bahadur and police excesses there. When the police found that the disclosures in the case would be more devastating than the publications so far made, the Raja of Kanika withdrew the case against the Pandit out of sheer fright. Gopabandhu was in Cuttack jail for the sake of this trial and when the case was ultimately withdrawn, he was transferred to the Hazaribagh central jail on the 24th January, 1923. He however entered into a protest against the magistrate's permitting the withdrawal of the case and made a

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statement along with his co-accused Dr. Atalbehari Acharya and Sri Santhacharan Behera, two veteran leaders.

While being carried from Cuttack to the Hazaribagh jail, Gopabandhu had written down his reactions in verse and these had been published as a poem entitled "Bandir Atmakatha" or "Autobiography of a Prisoner". In this poem Gopabandhu has given some intimate sketches which have affected the length and the breadth of the province and his philosophy of life and action is also there in this short poem of one hundred and ninetythree (193) couplets.

In Section V that is beginning from the 38th couplet Gopabandhu mourns,"......... The wails of sad Kanika reach me crossing forests and rivers. It rever-berates in my ears like a thunder on being echoed through the waters of river Salandi. Oh Bhadrak, Kanika is your neighbour. Is it necessary for me to speak in detail about the miseries of Kanika ? You have seen and heard about all kinds of oppressions and this has injured your neighbourly affection. Bhadrak is the way to Kanika. Had I the wings of a dove, I would have flown to Kanika and seen my brothers at Kanika in their desolate and dilapidated cottages. I would have put my hands on their backs to relieve the pain of canes and would have consoled myself. Two innocent persons were fired at and killed in Patarpur. The holy blood of these innocent and guiltless tenants has soaked the soil of Kanika. I wish I could have gone there, put that sacred soil as Tilak on my forehead, shed my tears on the shores of the sea and consoled myself. How unlucky I am that this desire cannot be

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fulfilled. They had invited me to visit them on many occasions but I could not. *Once I went there on an invitation from the Raja of Kanika when people were dying of starvation in thousands.* Could I go once again at the right moment, the tenants there probably could have been saved from oppression. I have this lament. Could I go now I would have bidden them farewell with a prayer for forgiveness. This is Kanika. I am feeling like a coma at its ghastly sight. The cruel agents of the Raja are roaming about on all sides in the villages, markets and the roads like the messengers of the God of Death. They loot the houses and fields of the poor tenants, slap and cane the innocent people and rape the village women, despite their plaintive wails. The ghosts are encircling the capital of Kanika. The drops of blood are falling down on earth and the flames are being lighted up. The waters of the river Ganga have even dried up to put out these flames but to no avail. The wails are coming up from all sides ; the people are fleeing helter and skelter leaving their hearths and homes behind, the pregnant women are having abortions in fear ; the cattle are raising their loud mourns. What a calamity ! What a danger ! Kanika trembles in fear....."

This writing of Gopabandhu Das seems to be based on popular hubbub created by Anand Chandra Jena and not in investigation of the actual facts. The trend shown in the writings of Anand Chandra Jena and Gopabandhu Das have been followed by Harekrushna Mahtab in his Oriya writings "Dasa barsara Odisa" (first published in 1935 & second edition 1977, Cuttack) and "Sadhanar Pathe" (published

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1972, Cuttack) and by most people of Orissa including scholars. Even a scholar like Shreeram Chandra Dash seems to have been carried away or influenced by the popular hubbub, when he stated as mentioned above that the Raja Bahadur of Kanika was a very exacting zamindar and he had levied innumerable taxes on the people of his zamindari. It is said that there were 64 kinds of taxes which the people of Kanika had to pay and there was nothing which they enjoyed free. The alleged taxation has been proved false in Appendix-II. Few instances may be mentioned of Biswamoy Pati,[9] Purushottam Kar,[10] Prufulla Das[11] and Atul Chandra Pradhan's[12] writings. Purushottam Kar[13] informs that Chakradhar Behera composed another booklet later, "Bandira Bilapa," in which he describes the entire story of the Kanika agitation.

A. C. Pradhan[14] while writing on uprising in Kanika mentions that closely linked with the non-co-operation movement in Orissa was an anti-feudal peasant uprising which occurred in the Kainka zamindari estate. The Raja of Kanika, though a public-spirited man, a stalwart of the Utkal Union conference and a close associate of Madhusudan Das, had incurred the displeasure and annoyance ot the people within his estate because of his policy of heavy financial extortions from the tenants. The people were required to pay 64 illegal texes. In 1918-19 there was an acute scarcity of foodstuff in Kanika. In 1920, crops were destroyed by heavy flood. In such a state of economic misery the Raja proposed to undertake a fresh settlement of land. The people opposed it on the ground

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that a new settlement by the zamindar would result in an exorbitant rise in taxes, and suggested settlement by the government. Atul Chandra Pradhan[15] elsewhere mentions thus Kanika peasant's agitation.

While the non-co-operation movement was going on, a peasant's agitation was brewing in the zamindari estate of Kanika. This agitation assumed a militant from after the suspension of the non-co-operation. The agitation was directed against the Raja of Kanika, who had raised the land revenue, and was collecting various illegal cesses. Although the peasants felt emboldened by the anti-British non-co-operation movement to challenge the Raja of Kanika, and the Orissa congress leaders sympathised with the distressed tenants of Kanika, the agitation of the peasants cannot be said to have been engineered by the congress. But the Raja of Kanika, a great favourite of the government, convinced the government that the agitation against him was engineered by the congressmen and was a part of the non-co-operation movement. The government trusted and supported the Raja and the Raja carried on his oppression in all possible ways. About the oppression of the Raja, H. K. Mahtab[16] has given the following description in his autobiography :

"At that time the Raja of Kanika and the British government were on very good terms. To speak against the Raja of Kanika was tantamount to treason, on the charge of which the gunned policemen were shooting and looting indiscriminately, many rich people were reduced to poverty and many women were molested.

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Such a region of terror was created by the police that even pregnant women fled to jungles where they gave birth to their babies. Rich men like Khadeita Ray and Ashwini Kumar Palai were not only deprived of their hundreds of landed property but also expelled from the estate."

"The congress leaders protested against the oppression of the Raja of Kanika on the innocent tenants. On 14th May 1922, a meeting of U.P.C.C., held at Balasore, passed a resolution demanding inquiry into the atrocities on the Kanika tenants. Soon thereafter Gopabandhu and other congress leaders were arrested and imprisoned. Hence they could not pursue the Kanika affairs."

The popular hubbub of commonly called Kanika meli in Orissa is very deep rooted. Anand Chandra Jena's writing "Dukhini Kanika", was first published in 1922, under gone second publication in 1937 and third publication in 1987.[17] These prove that a stereotype, one-track repetitive and iterative discussion on Kanika meli is going on in Orissa.

Are the uproars and sound of many voices against Kanika Raja correct or confused statements? Was Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika barbarous and taxing the people of then Kanika estate unscrupulously ? Is the popular hubbub of Orissa right ? These questions were perturbing or agitating the mind of the author much.

In quest of research, the author came across "The Star of Utkal", an independent weekly widely circulated in Orissa and Ganjam. In

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1905, "The Star of Utkal," an english weekly came out from Cuttack which was edited by Khirod Chandra Ray Choudhury. It was a paper which dealt very candidly with the Oriya national agitation and other allied problems. But it went out of favour with the government for the frankness of its views and was banned. It was however revived in 1922 under Lakshminarayan Sahu's editorship.[18]

During instantaneous search at Orissa State Archives, the author came across the issue of "The Star of Utkal",[19] published from Cuttack, Vol.XII, No. 14, Wednesday, 2nd July, 1924. Its availability at Orissa State Archives, has become an eye opener to the popular hubbub of Orissa. The editor[20] had written "Most Nauseating".

"Kanika, Kanika, Kanika— One is tried of it. On the 30th of May in the village of Aṇkapara in Panchmuka Elaka one Dineshchandra Sen, the Assistant Settlement Officer, Purusottam Mishra, a Tahasildar with 6 peons and about 50 or 60 goondas are alleged to have invaded the people and have committed heinous oppressions. The cause seems to arise out of disputes settlement. The second officer, Bhadrak has investigated the case. A suit has been filed. Yet some of our papers would not cease to call that there is Ramrajya in Kanika."

This was the period of National awakening and Freedom struggle was continuing. There was implementation of non-co-operation movement in Orissa, which resulted in police firing at Patarpur village of Kanika estate on 23rd April 1922. The people had taken law into their own

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hands and the circumstances on which the police firing was done has been described in Mr. Mc Pherson's speech earlier.

Five notable persons viz :-

1.	Ramsankar Rai,	(Rai Bahadur, Pleader & President, Municipal Board, Cuttack)
2.	Viswanath Kar	(Member, Legislative Council)
3.	Lakshmidhar Mohanty	(Member, Legislative Council, Pleader and Vice-Chairman, District Board, Cuttack)
4.	Pareswar Mohanty	(Pleader) and
5.	Sudam Charan Nayak	(Rai Bahadur, Retired Asstt. Suptd. of Orissa Tributary states & formerly member of Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council)

had written a report named "Note on alleged illegal taxes in Kanika". (vide : Appendix-II). They have written that an agitation has been going on against the Kanika Raj during the past three years in the course of which vague allegations have been made of 60 or 70 kinds of illegal cesses being levied by the Raj. Lately a local newspaper which has been intimately associated with the agitation has published a letter signed by "Vox populi" in which it is stated :-

"Herewith a list of taxes that are realised in the estate of a nobleman near our home and who is considered to be an enlightened chief. People must appreciate the fertile brain that

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evolved out such a nice variety of taxes carefully prepared to drain the poorest ryot even. Should one wonder even if a ryot riots under them ? The landlord is in the good book of the authorities, but unfortunately the day is nearing when these oppressions will have to cease."

The list appended to the letter names 44 taxes and fees and 7 malpractices, the word "rent" having been carefully avoided.

Although the name of the estate is not mentioned therein, it evidently refers to Kanika and in view of the public interest aroused by the agitation we have examined the whole question and our finding is given below. It will appear that out of the 51 items in the list 14 do not exist at all, 5 are fees which are paid, from time immemorial, to a temple outside Kanika and have nothing to do with the Raj, 2 are payments to religious institutions in the Raj and not to the Raj and the remaining 30, 23 are legal and customary and 7 are fees which are paid by raiyats for services asked for and rendered to them.

"We are satisfied that the Raja has not imposed any illegal tax. The estate was under the management of the Court-of-Wards periodically at different times and on the last occasion for about 40 years (from 1862 to 1902) and during these periods of management by the Court-of-Wards there were four settlements viz. in 1845, 1868, 1880 and 1893 under the directions of the Board of Revenue. The last was concluded in 1895 and all the rents and fees payable by tenants were minutely examined by the two

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successive settlement officers, Mr. Srinath Dutta and Mr. Sukhawat Hussain, both government officers of high reputation and the latter dealt with elaborately each and every kind of payment, legal and customary, in his report which was printed, under the authority of the government, at the Bengal Secretariat Press in 1895. The Raja who took over the estate from the Court-of-Wards in 1902 has strictly adhered to the principles laid down in the settlement report and we are satisfied that he is unnecessarily accused of levying illegal taxes.

We now proceed to deal with the alleged illegal taxes and fees and malpractices as detailed in the list published in the newspaper referred to above. (vide : Appendix-II).

The dealt issue of "The Star of Utkal" is available at Orissa State Archives, in Bhubaneswar. It is strange that no scholar has peeped into it or utilised the information. This is like the animal instinct of a group of sheep, following one sheep, when it runs off track. Such is the situation of the popular hubbub in Orissa.

The discussion shows that popular hubbub of Orissa, regarding Kanika Raja's taxation is not a reality, but a myth, created by scuff writings. The first to write or create popular hubbub was Anand Chandra Jena, in his writing "Dukhini Kanika". The attacks about many types of taxation became very popular and it was followed by Gopabandhu Das, in his writing "Bandir Atma Katha". It seems Gopabandhu Das didn't investigate, as he was busy in the organisation work of congress party and its non-co-operation implementation, but wrote

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from the memory of popular hubbub. The other writers on this topic have followed these two writings.

It seems the first investigation to get to the truth of the alleged taxes in Kanika, was done by the above mentioned five notable persons, whose report was published in "The Star of Utkal", Wednesday, 2nd July, 1924 issue.

The search of author in Kanika Darbar Library came across a printed book named "SOME IMPORTANT FACTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE KANIKA MELI". (vide : Appendix-III). These findings show the above assult writings on Kanika meli 1921-22 dealt or quoted hypocritical. From the informations available in Appendixes I, II & III, it can be said that congress party people of then Orissa, fooled the Kanika people and responsible for character assasination of Kanika Raja. When law & order are broken, any form of government fires or takes actions for maintenance of law & order and this is universal action in history of the world.

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Chapter - Two

PREVALENT VIEWS ON NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT IN ORISSA AND THE KANIKA MELI 1921-22

One side attack is going on against Kanika Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, in modern history of Orissa. Hence it is preferable to be acquitted with those thoughts.

The Indian National Congress was born in December 1885. Its first session was held in Bombay under the presidentship of W. C. Bannerjee. Among the 72 delegates was M. Vishwanath Aiyar, Pleader, District Court, Ganjam, Municipal Commissioner, Berhampur. Madhusudan Das could not attend the first session of the national congress as he was busy with the second national conference at Calcutta. However, on 3rd March 1886 a public meeting was held at Cuttack under the presidentship of Madhusudan Das to discuss the resolutions adopted by the congress in its session at Bombay. Madhusudan Das, the first graduate of Orissa, was also the first leader to introduce the liberal ideas or the congress in Orissa. The second session of the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta. The Utkal Sabha elected four representatives including Madhusudan Das to attend the session.[1]

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Madhusudan Das had joined congress party, but in the words of Surendra Mohanty,[2] in 1903 came also Madhusudan's parting from the Indian National Congress, under clouds of misunderstanding. The same year in the Madras session of the congress, presided over by Lalmohan Ghosh of Bengal, a resolution was passed, expressing deep concern at "the present policy of the Government of India in breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long standing" and deprecated the partition of Bengal. In the same resolution, however, the proposed separation of the district of Ganjam with its agency tracts and Vizagapatam agency from the Madras presidency and its amalgamation with Orissa had also been unthinkingly opposed under pressure from certain interested quarters. An amendment to delete reference to Ganjam and Vizagapatam tracts, while admitting the soundness of opposition to the partition of Bengal moved by a delegate from the Tamil areas of the Madras presidency, had been lost in voting.

"While the congress was opposed to partition of Bengal on ethnological, cultural and linguistic grounds, it rejected Orissa's plea for merger of Ganjam and Vizagapatam agency tracts, which was based on the same ethnic considerations. *This gap between reasoning and resolution disillusioned Madhusudan about the congress and he lost all hope of attaining the cherished objectives of the Oriyas, within the organisational discipline of the congress.* Though Madhusudan was one of the early patriarchs of the Indian National Congress and had been attending its sessions ever since 1886, he had to dissociate

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himself from it, to devote his energies entirely to the cause of Orissa and her people ; as Orissa was lying prostrate, a bleeding colony, ruled and exploited by a set of intermediaries, inside a bigger colony that was the Indian empire. Since then his association with the congress became casual and sporadic."

Madhusudan Das dreamt for a homeland for the Oriyas. To him Oriya nationalism was complimentary to and in harmony with Indian nationalism. "Mother Utkal, he said," is not a separate entity. from mother India. She is not a co-wife of mother India, nor is she her enemy. There is no conflict of loyalty between our respect for mother Utkal and mother India. If any particular part of one's body is diseased, it requires treatment. But the treatment of that particular part amounts to the treatment of the body as a whole. All our aims to develop mother Utkal are for the progress of mother India too."[3]

In this background, Gopabandhu Das as a very young man, he had been drawn into political activities centering round the upliftment of the Oriyas. In retrospect some of the leaders of recent times who have participated in national politics as leaders and members of the Indian National Congress regard the Utkal Union Conference and its leaders as parochial in their outlook and look upon the conference as narrow-minded politics but during the life time of Gopabandhu. National politics had not come to the present form and everyone was engaged on the development of his own province as a integral part of the Indian nation. He however used to attend the congress almost regularly.[4]

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Though an protagonist of Oriya nationalism at first, gradually Gopabandhu Das became fully drawn to the spirit of Indian nationalism of congress party. Gopabandhu had described the relation between the Utkal union conference and Indian nationalism in his monthly magazine "Satyabadi" in the last but one issue of the Oriya year 1328. In this issue of "Satyabadi", Gopabandhu wrote

"Indian National movement is marching ahead and its reactions are felt in Orissa. There is spontaneous excitement among the Oriya youth, but their guardians say 'Beware, the time has not come in Orissa for this kind of activities.' When we wait for time, the national movement has advanced a step further. This means that while we are waiting for the opportune moment, nationalism forges ahead. Who can explain the meaning of 'Opportune moment ?' It is true that our participation in the present national movement might bring tribulations to us. We are probably waiting for that moment when participation in the national movement will mean no gangers but only partnership in the fruits of victory. Can anyone tell me if any nation in the world had profited by this type of attitude? A slave country fighting for her independence must be ready to brave all dangers and difficulties. Everytime is appropriate time for such a country. The fighters for freedom are facing great dangers. No one joins national movement after drawing up a 'balance sheet' of sufferings and sacrifices on one side and the fruits of victory on the other. The question of 'opportune moment' reflects the spirit of cowardice. This is a

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psychology of slavery. We must drift in the current of nationalism.

No one can definitely say what is the extent of danger inherent in any movement. *It may be that Orissa may lose her identity altogether as a result of the national movement and we must be prepared for it.* If obliteration of Orissa can save Indian nationalism, is it not desirable ? It will rather be a stroke of good fortune for Orissa. People may not appreciate this sacrifice of Orissa, still Dadhichi's sacrifice remains very noble. Where then is the question of appropriate time ?[5]

The above statement of Gopabandhu Das shows that hardly he has any contribution towards the formation of Orissa province. A. C. Pradhan[6] rightly mentions that there were two lines of political thinking in Orissa in 1920. Men like Madhusudan thought of achieving the goal of unification of Oriya-speaking tracts by co-operation with the British government. On the otherhand Gopabandhu Das had been disillusioned with the 'callousness' and 'indifference' of the British government towards the Oriya people and was becoming receptive to the call of congress under Gandhi's leadership.

About the non-co-operation movement in Orissa, K. S. Behera[7] mentions, "The special session of congress held at Calcutta in September 1920 supported Gandhi's plan for non-co-operation. Gopabandhu Das, Jagabandhu Singh and other young leaders such as Harekrushna Mahtab attended the Calcutta session. The annual session of the congress held at Nagpur in December 1920 finally decided to launch

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non-co-operation movement, in all 35 delegates of Orissa attended the Nagpur session. Among them were Gopabandhu Das, Niranjan Patnaik, Jagabandhu Singh, Jadumani Mangaraj and Harekrushna Mahtab".

The non-co-operation programme envisaged boycott of government educational institutions, law courts and legislatures. People were asked to use Khadi and boycott foreign cloths.

In 1921 the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee was formed with Pandit Gopabandhu Das as president. He was the organiser of the movement in Orissa. Gandhiji's visit to Orissa in March 1921 roused the state into new ferments of thought and increased the tempo of nationalist activity. Gandhi addressed a public meeting at Cuttack on the sandy bed of the river Kathajori. Besides, Cuttack he visited Bhadrak, Satyabadi, Puri and Berhampur.

On the wake of the non-co-operation movement college students such as H. K. Mahtab, Nityananda Kanungo, Nanda Kishore Das, Rajkrishna Bose and others left government college. In Sambalpur, students left the Government Zilla School. Lawyers such as Bhagirathi Mahapatra and Jagabandhu Singh gave up their legal practice. Gopabandhu Choudhury, who was a Deputy Collector, resigned from government service to join the movement.

National schools were established in districts of Cuttack, Puri and Sambalpur. The Satyabadi school was converted to a national school. Nilakantha Das joined the Sambalpur National School. The Chakradharpur High School was converted into a national

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school under the leadership of Godavarish Mishra.

The boycott of foreign cloth received support of the people. In all important towns of Orissa bonfires of foreign cloth were organised by congress volunteers. In Puri the offering of foreign cloth to Lord Jagannath was discouraged. In Calcutta Oriya labourers from Orissa refused to carry foreign cloth.

During the period nationalist ashramas such as Swaraj ashram, Swaraj mandir and Alaka ashram played their part to implement the non-co-operation programme.

The movement found an echo in the princely state of Keonjhar. On 1st May, 1921 complete hartal was observed at Keonjhargarh. This provided a fit excuse for the political agent to let loose a reign of terror. People suffered imprisonment but they remained peaceful. *The common peasants were affected by the non-co-operation movement in Kanika estate. The anti-feudal agitation there drew sympathy of the congress leaders of the state.*

Mahatma Gandhi decided to suspend the movement because of violence at Chauri Chaura in February 1922. In August, 1925, Gandhi came to Cuttack, to Utkal tannery of Madhusudan Das. In a speech he summed up the condition of Orissa as follows :

Orissa is the poorest province in India and this can easily be removed if everyone uses charkha.

Again in December 1927 Gandhiji came to Orissa for the sake of khadi.

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The non-co-operation movement failed to bring Swaraj. But it had removed fear complex from their mind. In a speech at Bolgarh in Orissa Gandhiji emphasized

"Fear is more dreadly than disease such as cholera, small-pox and malaria disease wastes only this body while fear destroyes the Soul and men of fear cannot understand God."

Much before Gopabandhu Das, came in contact with Madhusudan Das, the Raja of Kanika Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo was a supporter and man behind Madhusudan Das and the Kanika Raja had the privilege of getting Madhusudan Das, as his gardian, during his minorship. When the Indian National awakening was rising and Kanika people were proto meli habit, R. N. Bhanja Deo became the proprietor, zamindar or Raja, the personal designation : which was later confered to him, in 1902 of Kanika estate.

The Kanika meli 1921-22 is described by K. S. Behera as anti-feudal agitation, as mentioned above. Harekrushna Mahtab[8] describes agitation in Kanika as an agrarian one. Atul Chandra Pradhan[9] and Prafulla Das[10] call this as 'Kanika peasants agitation' and 'Kanika peasant's movement'. But, the author exposes the exhibits and appendixes, to compare facts and determine the truth.

Biswamoy Pati[11] gives the following conclusion and mentions "as can be perceived, the Kanika peasant's struggle reflected a new form of struggle in which anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism converged. Unlike earlier 'melis', in which the former was clearly

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pronounced, this movement incorporated both the currents.

"Why was the peasantry drawn towards this movement ? To answer it in terms of economic exploitation alone will not be sufficient. After all, exploitation of the peasantry was not a novel feature in the history of this estate, but a movement of this magnitude had never occured earlier. This is precisely where we should turn to the strong anti-imperialist wave that swept the whole country in course of the non-co-operation movement. Thus, the non-co-operation movement provided the link between anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism, and it was the convergence of these two currents that strengthened this movement. As already mentioned, the struggle for 'Swaraj' got identified with the struggle to end oppressive taxes and a reassertion of lost rights over the forests. Consequently, it was the anti-feudal responses of the peasantry that attracted them to the Pradesh Congress Committee, and made this convergence possible. Besides anti-imperialism, as represented by the non-co-operation movement, reinforced and strengthened this movement.

Instead of organising the peasantry to carry on a sustained struggle, the Pradesh Congress Committee retreated with the Bardoli resolution. On the basis of the fact that their struggle lasted even after this, we can conclude that the movement of the Kanika peasants had got organised 'from below.' Thus, although the initial stimulus of the Pradesh Congress Committee cannot be overlooked, this fact brings to light the potentialities of this movement. Moreover, the retreat of the Predesh Congress Committee

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itself reflects the contradiction between popular pressures and congress politics. Consequently, these points offer a sharp contrast to nations regarding the organising capacity of the congress. Thus, 'the patronage of politics from above did not help' agrarian discontent to get organised,[12] as Siddiqui might attempt to convince us. The basic thrust of the Pradesh Congress Committee was to keep this movement within bounds, exploit its anti-imperialist potential and keep down anti-feudalism. However, this was not possible, and it deserted and disorganised the peasants, as shown.

"That the attempt to seek redress through this struggle was imcomplete becomes clear, when in 1931, it was admitted that the Kanika peasants continued to be harassed by innumerable charges which drain their resources."[13]

Biswamoy Pati[14] has also produced a paper named," Popular Struggles and Indian Nationalism : the Kanika movement of Orissa (1921-22)." He has dealt the economic background, social structure of Kanika (based on the 1889-94 settlement), pattern of migration from Kanika and while writing of peasant struggle in Kanika,[15] mentions :-

"Kanika had a rich legacy of peasant struggles. A common feature in the 19th century was a number of melis or organised demonstrations led by the mustagirs who were the traditional leaders of the peasantry. They belonged to dominant castes and were comparatively effluent. Nevertheless, the melis led by them aimed at resisting increased tax demands, and were organised almost at every

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revision settlement and had the broad support of the peasantry. There was a meli during the 1889-94 settlement operations. Hussain described it as "... a big affair, almost all people joining in it, some actively but a great many passively." Although he looked upon melis cynically since they usually benefited a few, in reality they reflected a tradition of autonomous peasant revolt in the estate. Hussain's reference to common funds during melis is significant and suggests the existence of some form of organisation as well.[16]

During the 1889-94 settlement, the Khas system was introduced, which, as discussed earlier, wiped out the privileges of the mustagirs. Soon after this, in 1906 there was a meli led by ex-mustagirs like Dinabandhu Khandaitray (who was also prominent in the 1921-22 phase)[17]. The introduction of the Khas system broadened the basis of the post 1894 melis for it included the mustagirs who had been thrown into the ranks of the other cultivators. It got consolidated during the 1921-22 movement.

"It was against this background that the non-co-operation movement started in Orissa. In July or August 1921 it spread to Kanika and Aul (a neighbouring estate). The Raja of Kanika condemned the non-co-operation movement and"..... congratulated his peasants for remaining uninfluenced by the agitators......" complaints appeared in Oriya newspapers such as Samaj, Utkala Dipika and Seba that the Raja of Kanika opposed the non-co-operation movement.... ...."

This writing also shows that the Kanika meli 1921-22 was held because of socio-

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political reasons and Biswamoy Pati[18] gives the conclusion thus : "It will appear from the present study that the Kanika peasants' struggle had a strong anti-feudal basis. In contrast to earlier melis this one is distinguished by its broader social basis, organisation and links with the anti-imperialist wave that swept the country in the 1921-22. Some of the leaders were landless, and belonged to the low castes which marked a break with the past. The movement drew its strength from the coming together of the different sections of the peasantry. Factors such as caste and the degree of affluence had virtually no impact on the movement, except that the Brahmins who were supported by land grants stayed out of it. However, once the movement subsided, the better off sections of the peasants changed their allegiance.

The connection between the PCC and the Kanika peasants struggle was not a straight one. As discussed above, the non-co-operation movement was the basis for this link-up. It its fight for Swaraj, the PCC had attempted to associate itself with the Kanika peasants' movement. However, evidence has been cited which indicates the legacy of meli tradition which had consistently resisted increased tax demands. Moreover, as had been already shown, the peasant organisations developed from below, and the struggle lasted even after the PCC's retreat (which was in line with the Bardoli resolution). These points obviously reflect the weakness of the PCC's hold. Moreover, it needs to be emphasised that the PCC's notions of swaraj underwent certain changes

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due to its interaction with the people[19]. Thus, the peasants and tribals of the estate identified swaraj with the end of oppressive taxes and a re-assertion of lost rights over forests. The withdrawal of the PCC and its subsequent appeals to its workers reveals the contrast between popular pressures and congress politics[20].

"That the attempt to seek redress through this struggle was incomplete becomes clear when in 1931 it was admitted that "the Kanika peasants continued"......" to be harassed by innumerable charges which..........drain (ed) their resources[21]." Similar views were expressed in the 1940' as well[22]. For the people of Kanika the memory of Basu and Bisuni is a living one, even today, which reflects the unresolved nature of the contradictions.

Scholar like P. K. Mishra[23] state that the agrarian unrest in Kanika, a permanently settled estate in the Cuttack district drew much public attention in 1921 as a centre of non-co-operation movement. R. N. Bhanja Deo the zamindar of Kanika was both a patron of the Utkal union conference and an ardent supporter of the Raj. The oppressed peasantry in his estate being induced by some congress leaders sought relief against heavy burden of taxes[24]. In early 1922, the situation began to deteriorate on account of the zamindar's order enhancing the existing rate of land revenue. The peasant's uprising was given a political colour and Bhanja Deo made the government feel that the refusal of his tenants to pay taxes was a part of the non-co-operation movement and should be drastically dealt with. The police action which followed an unsuccessful bid by

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the commissioner to pacify the peasants resulted in the death of two persons and injury to many[25]. There was mass arrest and further repression of the peasants. With a view to localise the unrest the government prohibited the entry of congress leaders to Kanika[26]. Gopabandhu Das and Bhagirathi Mahapatra were placed under arrest for trying to violate the prohibitory orders. Their arrest sparked off scathing criticism in the legislative council of Bihar and Orissa where the Oriya members demanded a non-official enquiry into the Kanika affairs.[27] Since the government considered the Kanika incident a law and order problem, they did not agree to institute enquiry and the poor peasants had to nourish their wound. Kanika was silenced by strong coercive methods.

"Shortly after the above incident almost all the congress leaders in Orissa were hauled up by the police and imprisoned. This seriously impeded the nationalist upsurge. Though by June 1922 the non-co-operation movement had gradually petered out, it left behind a sense of pride and high aspirations to serve as political motivation in years to come."

Atul Chandra Pradhan[28] repeatedly with more moderate view have written about 'The Kanika Tenants' Agitation (1921-22).' Sushil Chandra De[29] has distorted the actual happening of firing, when he writes about Kanika Agrarian agitation and states thus : "The Divisional Commissioner paid a visit to Kanika to form an idea of the real situation. He stayed in the Kanika palace. The tenants, when they heard that the commissioner had come to enquire into their grievances, proceeded in large numbers to

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meet him and place their grievances before him. But the Raja, however, managed to convince the commissioner that the people were coming to attack the Rajbati and loot the property. At this, the commissioner felt alarmed and ordered the police to disperse the people. The trigger-happy police fired at the innocent people without warning. The firing resulted in the death of two persons. Many were wounded and 150 persons were arrested in that connection."

S. C. De has given this comment without reference which creates haughtiness. This is like perversion and misrepresentation. Such writing was never expected from a senior scholar of Orissa.

The actual firing took place elsewhere. On 23rd April 1922 the armed policemen fired upon an excited mob of one thousand persons near Patarpur, killing two persons (Bisuni Madhual and Basu Sethi) and infuring twentysix others.[30] It seems S. C. De has followed the double standard writing of Harekrushna Mahatab.[31]

S. C. De[32] further mentions that the pathetic condition of the tenants of Orissa and the inhuman atrocities of the police was narrated in a small booklet 'the Dukhini Kanika (the poor and unhappy Kanika)' written by Pandit Gopabandhu Das.

The author of 'Dukhini Kanika' was Ananda Chandra Jena and Gopabandhu Das was the author of 'Bandir Atmakatha' or 'Autobiography of a Prisoner.' This is proof to show, how distortion of the modern history of Orissa and specially of freedom struggle in Orissa, is continuing. Purushottam Kar[33] rightly mentions that Sri Mahapatra, the Superintendent of

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Police ordered firing. It took place at Patarpur and resulted in the death of Basu Sethi and Bisuni Madhual and injury of many.

People and scholars of Orissa in general, regard the Kanika meli 1921-22 as an agrarian or peasant struggle or movement. Copies of notes, translations of speeches and judgements discovered by the author in Kanika darbar record room ; as given in this work as exhibits and appendixes, proves that this meli was socio-political and congress party people and specially Harekrushna Mahtab have made a scapegoat of then Kanika Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo and have helped in developing popular hubbub against him. The popular hubbub is so common in Orissa through literature like "Dukhini Kanika" poetry that most people of Kanika area and scholars in general speak and write about Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo of Kanika, as tyrant, who was collecting innumerable taxes. How much, this popular hubbub of Orissa is justified ? All these opinions shows that scholars have followed the trend, as shown by Harekrushna Mahtab in his writings "Dasa barsara Orissa" and "Sadhanar Pathe," both in Oriya. Therefore the general tendency is to show the economic exploitation of Kanika Raja through taxation.

The documents discovered by the author from Kanika darbar record room fulfils in exposing the genuiness and details of the implementation programme of non-co-operation by congress party and the facts which were responsible for the popular hubbub. It is worth exposing the papers or notes in series, which have not yet reached Orissa State Archive record room.

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19. One is tempted to refer to George Rude, *Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century : Studies in Popular Protest,* London, 1974, to explain this process. As he puts it, ".....though originally derived from outside (political motives) ..... were given a particular twist in course of their assimilation by the small masters, craftsmen and wage-earners, who adapted them, as it were to their own social and political needs. This is particularly striking in the case of the sansculotters of Paris, who gave new meanings to the ideas of 'Equality', 'Liberty' and 'Sovereignty' which were quite unacceptable to their Jacobin teachers," pp. 32-33.
20. The movement brought to light the position of some of the "father figures" of Orissa. Besides Gopabandhu Das and H. K. Mahtab, we should also refer to the ambivalence of Madhusudan Das

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who remained absolutely silent when Bihar and Orissa Legislative Assembly debated the "Kanika disturbances."

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22. This becomes clear if one goes through the 'Land Revenue Administration Reports' of the 1940's, especially those 1940-41 and 1946-47, Cuttack, 1942 and 1948.
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Chapter - Three

KANIKA DARBAR RECORDS EXPOSED

All the writings done on Kanika meli 1921-22, which forms an important chapter in the modern history of Orissa, seems to follow one track, as shown in the Oriya writings of Harekrushna Mahtab, 'Dasabarsara Orissa', and 'Sadhanar Pathe'.

Intensive search in the Kanika darbar records, done by the author uncovered archival statements of Kanika darbar on Kanika meli 1921-22, which throw new light to the little known facts or aspects of Kanika meli. For that reason they are exhibited serially.

Exhibit-One

Note

Much seems to have been made of the little publication entitled the "*Dukhini Kanika*", which was published a few months ago when under the influence of some non-co-operators there was a strong combination, for unlawful purposes, among the tenants of Kanika, resulting in serious breach of peace. This pamphlet does not make mention of any specific acts of oppression or bring any specific charge against any particular official. It contains certain false,

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malicious and defamatory statements of a general character as well as deliberate misrepresentation of facts, and was published with a view to discredit the Raj employees as a whole and to incite the ignorant and excitable people against the Raj.

As regards the allegations made in the book it is not known whether the author is personally known to the Hon'ble mover or the Hon'ble mover has any respect for or reliance on him. It is also not known what inquiries the Hon'ble mover made to ascertain how far the allegations were correct or how far they represented the views of the people of Kanika as a whole. The public have little or no concern with the allegations and before taking any action in the matter we should ascertain how far the allegations contained in the book are correct. If there are any real grievances there are proper courts for remedy. It is only when there is wide-spread complaint and the people fail to get redress in law courts and approach the public, that there may be some reason or justification for taking legislative action in the manner proposed by the Hon'ble mover. Has he made inquiries to ascertain how many complaints were made by the people in proper courts against the Raj employees regarding these allegations and what was the result ? If so, he should report the result of his inquiries for the information of the House. If the Hon'ble member felt inclined to take so much interest in a matter of private concern between a landlord and his tenants after merely reading the pamphlet, the proper and desirable course for him would have been to approach both parties

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and make an effort at finding out the truth. The Raja of Kanika, I believe, is not personally unknown to the Hon'ble member and we are not aware if the Hon'ble mover ever made inquiries from him as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations in the book. No man would be safe if such irresponsible pamphlets found in the streets are brought up before the council and the dignity of the council will certainly be very much lowered by discussing such matters and thereby giving improper advertisement to such scurrilous writings. Shortly after publication of this book several acts of lawlessness were committed in which the author himself took a leading part, as will be seen hereafter.

One important feature of the resolution that suggests itself to everyone is that the Hon'ble mover himself wants to be on the committee which he proposes to have for an inquiry into the allegations in the book. In other words, he wants the sanction of the council to be the judge of a matter which he himself has brought forward for an inquiry. It is not known whether any party is anxious to have him on the committee he wants to be appointed. There would have been some show of fairness if he had not shown his anxiety to himself become a member of the committee. Even if there be any truth in any of the allegations in the book, the matter no doubt would amount to a private dispute between landlord and his tenants. What earthly purpose then will be served by a committee of inquiry in a matter like this ? What again can the council do in a matter like this ? There are proper courts for remedy in such matters, and unless the parties have

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recourse to them, no useful purpose can be served by appointing a committee. For instance, supposing the committee find that many more persons than those convicted have broken the law, how can the committee punish them ? Suppose, the landlord of Kanika is found to be much more exacting than other landlords, are you going to pass a special law for Kanika alone ?

It seems necessary at this place to make a brief mention of the author of the book. He is tenant of the Raj holding 0.70 acre of land and paying an annual rent of Rs. 2/-. This is all that he owns, perhaps in this world. He was the teacher of an aided L. P. School who was transferred on account of misconduct by the Sub-Inspector of Schools and soon after removed from service as it was not desirable to keep him any longer in the education department. He was under the impression that the Raj officials had a hand in the matter of his removal from service and so he sent in a representation in the form of a poem (which he seems to be so fond of writing) to the Raja Bahadur, but as on inquiry it was found that the matter was one concerning the officers of the education department, no action was taken. This took place in September 1921. Shortly after, when the non-co-operation movement was in full swing and an attempt was being made to set up the tenants against the Raj, this man found an opportunity of posing himself as a leader of the ignorant people and commenced his nefarious activities. Gradually he became one of the ring-leaders of the meli. His activities became very prominent. He himself joined in the commission

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of several over acts which led to serious rioting and eventually action was taken against him under Sec. 107 Cr. P. Code. In the judgement the following is mentioned in regard to him :-

> "I had to frame a separate set of questions for Ananda Chandra Jena. He is accused of joining the other accused, in trying to achieve the main object of the leaders of the meli ; further he is accused of advising the driving out of Raj Amalas and employees, going to Ghariamal and other villages with a large body of men and there compelling tenants to give thumb impressions, subscriptions, assaulting Khetramohan Mangaraj, oppressing some 7 men - Raj employer and others. He denies everything. But there is only this denial in his behalf. The prosecution have adduced people who were so oppressed and others who were eye witnesses and against these there is nothing put forward by Ananda Jena. I must hold him also as one against whom action under Sec. 107 Cr. P. C should be taken as I have held against the others. I therefore order that Ananda Ch. Jena is ordered to execute a bond of Rs. 250/- with two sureties each in Rs. 150/-" Being unable to furnish two sureties in Rs. 150/- each, in and outside Kanika, as a guarantee for good behaviour in future, the man is now in prison. He appealed against the order but the appeal was summarily rejected.

I would now deal with the several allegations in the book.

(4) *Dispensaries* - The Raj maintains 3 charitable dispensaries. They are in charge of duly qualified medical officers. One of these — dispensaries was in charge of an Assistant Surgeon for a long time. On an average — patients are treated at these dispensaries

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annually. The writer decries the benefits of these institutions by a seeping remark that they aggravate their diseases because pure well water is given to the patients as medicine. Even if pure well water were given as medicine, how could it aggravate the diseases ?

(5) *High English School* - The writer also decries the benefits of the High School here which is entirely maintained by the Raj at great cost without any help from anybody and from which some tenants have passed successfully and are profitably employed. This institution, the writer makes out, has been spreading illiteracy among the people.

(6) *Flood relief measures 1920* - In 1326 Amli (1920) during the great floods in Kanika the Raja had ordered large quantities of rice and chura to be distributed among the distressed people. The writer says that very little was distributed among the people and nearly the whole was looted by the employees themselves. This is a malicious lie as people like the Asstt. Manager and the Supervisor (who are graduates) as well as the Raja Bahadur himself and the Tikayet visited several villages and distributed rice and chura among the people. Even the writer's own village was visited by the Raja Bahadur and the Tikayet and relief was given there more than once.

(7) After the floods, arrangements were made for giving relief to the distressed people in three ways :-

Gratuitous relief in rice doles,

Kitchen and

Tuccavi.

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The writer says that all these were done only for a single day when the District Magistrate visited the place and stopped immediately after he left. This is another ridiculous lie. Gratuitous relief in rice doles and kitchen were continued for a period of over 4 months and 1, 33, 176 units of persons were relieved. Over Rs. 60, 000 was given as Tuccavi. Several officers of government visited the relief centres and there must be some official records on the subject.

(8) Regarding Tuccavi the writer admits that it carried interest at $6\frac{1}{4}$ P. C. per annum but says that it was given in shape of paddy. This is only additional advantage which the tenants themselves were anxious to have.

(9) In that year it was necessary to relieve widows and helpless women who could not do any other work. A large quantity of paddy was issued to them for husking in consideration of the number of members in the family. It is estimated that they got over 400 mds. in shape of wages. This laudable measure is also condemned by the writer.

(10) Excavating tanks at the cost of the Raj the benefit of the tenants is another item which the writer also condemns.

(11) Roads which are made and maintained entirely at the cost of the Raj are also condemned because they are made for the benefit of the estate as well and there are no roads made exclusively for the use of the tenants.

(12) The embankments are made and maintained by the Raj at great cost for the benefit of the

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tenants. The writer says that the amounts spent by the estate are not paid to the tenants who do the earthworks, and go only to the contractors. This is really an absurd statement and a malicious lie.

(15) The mohajans generally charge interest at $37\frac{1}{2}$ percent per annum and commonly take unwriten stamps with signatures and thumb impressions of the debtors. For the benefit of the tenants, ordinary loans are granted carrying interest at $12\frac{1}{2}$ percent per annum. This is considered by the writer as an act of oppression.

(16) Makes mention of some acts of oppression which are most unfounded. Nothing is specified as to when, where and by whom such acts were committed. A good deal is said here to excite the people and incite them to join in a combined action.

(17) No complaint was ever made about this. If specific instances are brought to notice, mistakes, if any, may be rectified.

(18) It is a deliberate misrepresentation of facts to excite the people. A mentioned in Sec. 249 of the Orissa Tenancy Act, the proprietor of a permanently settled estate never gets any remission of revenue from government and does not therefore grant any remission of rent to the tenants.

(19) The writer objects to the resumption under Sec. 21 (2) of the Orissa Tenancy Act of resumable tenures in cases of transfers. This is in accordance with custom prevailing in the estate since time immemorial, vide para 152 of Survey Settlement Completion Report of Kanika estate quoted below :-

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"It is distinctly recorded in the settlement roydad of 1865-71 that the lands included in the rent-free or the tonki tenures are not alienable. With reference to the rent-free tenures, the following expressions occur in the roydad : 'In this estate those who hold lands rent-free have not the right of alienating their holdings. The power of granting lands to anybody or of depriving anyone of his lands rests solely with the Raja ....'

> About tonki tenures it is stated :-
>
> 'The holders of tonki tenures have not the right of alienating their holdings.'
>
> Inspite of this prohibition, the lands included in rent-free and tonki tenures have been alienated and some of the latter have been done so with the consent of the manager.
>
> The alienation of tonki and rent-free lands is, as shown above, expressly disallowed, and when they are alienated inspite of the prohibition, they are resumed, and the purchasers have to pay rents at rates applicable to resumed lands, and the average price fetched has, therefore, been about the same as for thani lands, except for such as have been sold this year. The rights of tenure-holders to sell their lands subject to the penalty of resumption having been recognised, their free exercise during the Court-of-Wards management may be permitted, subject to the permission of the estate and the payment of fees as has been done in the case of raiyats. This concession would of course not apply to Debottar and Pirottar tenures, nor to service-tenures."

(20) In Kanika as in several Rajwaras and Killajat estates the idols get land-grants for their worship. Hence the Raja is the shebait

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and the persons in charge are treated as marfatdars. This is quite separate from the estate. When the estate was under the management of the Court-of-Wards, the management of the Debottar property was left to a member of the Raj family. The writer apparently wants to usurp that right of the estate for the marfatdars.

(21) The writer objects to the assessment of cess on certain sources of income. Cess is realised according to assessment by government under the cess act. No case of illegal assessment of cesses has been brought to light.

(22) The writer makes certain allegations regarding forest fees. The rate of 8 annas per family (choola) was fixed during the period of management by the Court-of-Wards. In 1910, the present rate of 6 pies on every rupee of rent was introduced at the request of the tenants. Formerly every tenant had to pay a minimun forest fee of Rs. 8/- where as under the present system a tenant paying annual rent of Rs. 16/- has to pay that amount. Those paying less as rent have likewise to pay less as forest fee. The writer who has to pay one anna as cess on his annual rent of Rs. 2, while under the old system he would have had to pay eight annas. The change is thus to the distinct advantage of the poorer tenants. The right of obtaining jungle produce on payment is purely permissive and never prescriptive, and is determined by the terms of contract between the landlord and his tenants.

Reserve forests have always been recognised. As one of the overt acts committed by the refractory tenants, the writer and several

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others incited the ignorant people to cut and remove fuel and timber without premission from the reserve forests. They visited the reserve forests in large numbers. There were 4 cases, 3 in Kendrapara court and one in Bhadrak court against 79 persons who were all convicted. Nos. 23, 24 and 25 refer to fees for different kinds of mutations and changes in records which have long been paid without any objection.

(28) The writer has given a long account of fees charged for transfers of holdings. There is nothing illegal in all that he has mentioned.

(29) Under the law Hindu widows possess only life interest in the estates owned by them. It is only under special circumstances that they can alienate them. Their lands are in most cases, the only means of their support. In good many cases these widows are found to transfer their holdings for no valid reason to the prejudice of the interests of their reversionary heirs. Hence transfer by widows are not encouraged and are allowed with due caution. After disposing of their lands these widows are compelled to live upon charity and become burdens upon the villagers.

(30) The landlord is not bound to recognise transfers without permission if the transferees take no steps for the registration of same. When such cases are detected and permission is with-held the writer treats them as causes of grievances.

(31) Khamar lands are entirely at the disposal of the proprietor and he is perfectly justified to let them out to his best advantage.

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(33) Rent is never realised for raising seedlings on Rajsarkar waste lands. In fact in years of floods, general permission is given to the tenants to raise seedlings on Rajsarkar lands free of charge.

(34) Encroachments by unauthorised cultivation upon gochar and godanda lands are always discouraged and penal rents or compensations are realised to prevent such cultivations, when the cultivators do not give up the lands.

(35) The estate often takes the initiative for abatement of rents on account of lands eroded after necessary inquiries and this is also done when the tenants apply for reduction of rent on that ground.

(37) Full compensation is always given to the tenants for lands acquired with their consent for works of public utility.

(38) According to the terms of kabooliyats executed by the lessees of creek fisheries, they are bound to look to the interests of cultivation and hence the writer's statement is wholly unfounded.

(40) The writer wants to assert the right of the tenants to fisheries in Rajsarkar tanks. This is certainly most absurd. As an item of the overt acts committed by the people, the fish from several Rajsarkar tanks was forcibly caught and misappropriated by them. Two cases were sent up by the police against 13 persons who were all convicted. This is a gross misrepresentation of facts.

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(41) It was only during 1919 and 1920 when there was serious failure of crops in the estate that paddy was purchased from the tenants at market rates and stocked against future contingencies. On enquiry it was found that the supply was far short of the requirements and the situation would become extremely serious if there be gradual depletion of stock by large exports. As several of the big tenants could not do without selling portions of their stock of paddy for meeting necessary expenses, arrangements were made for purchasing at market rates whatever stock was available in the estate. The stock thus procured was sold to the tenants at cheap rates. Government officials were also aware of the actions taken in the mater.

(43) This is another instance of putting things in a wrong and mischievous way. In years of failure of crops there is always great want of seed grains. Unless steps are taken to procure same early in the season, it becomes impossible to do so later on. Hence steps are taken to procure seed grains as much as possible immediately after the crops are gathered. These are kept in reserve and issued to the tenants requiring same during the agricultural season. This is always appreciated by the people although the writer who has practically no cultivation may not appreciate it.

(49) Large areas of jungle and waste lands are used as pastures for buffaloes and it is absurd to say that pasture fees are realised without allowing pasture lands.

(50) Khalakar is realised from people using Rajsarkar waste lands for drying fish and

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carrying on business in same and has no concern with the fishery rent.

(55) In cases of heavy arrears of rents which the tenants find it impossible for them to pay up, they sometimes file applications surrendering their holdings. This involves heavy losses to the estate as all arrears due by them have to be remitted as irrecoverable, and the lands surrendered can hardly be resettled or brought under cultivation. This state of things happen in the flood exposed tracts of the Raj.

(56 & 57) These are most unfounded as due wages are always paid to all people who are required to render services to the Raj or its employees.

(58) There is nothing illegal in the rents or fees referred to in this.

(60) The allegation is a serious one but it is most unfounded as not a single case of this nature was ever brought to the notice of the authorities.

(62) This is absolutely false. There is never any restriction against the tenants complaining against any employee of the estate and the petition writers are never prevented from writing any such petitions for them.

From the short notes given above of most of the allegations contained in "Dukhini Kanika" it will be clearly seen that the writer has made a deliberate attempt at discrediting the Raj employees by a cunning misrepresentation of facts and wilful perversion of truth. Several of the most beneficial measures carried out by the Raj at great cost have been condemned in

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strong terms. The dispensaries which cost the estate about Rs. 3500/- annually are said to be only aggravating the diseases of the patients. The high school maintained at a cost over Rs. 5000/- annually is said to be only spreading illiteracy among the people. Tuccavi loans granted to the tenants on interest at $6\frac{1}{4}\%$ per annum are said to be investments only in the interests of the landlord as if he cannot get 6% interest elsewhere. Roads constructed and maintained by the Raj at great cost are said to be useless because they have not been made exclusively for the use of the tenants. Similarly embankments provided by the Raj and maintained by it at a heavy cost are said to be of little benefit to the tenants. The present rate of forest fees viz. 6 pies on every rupee of rent which undoubtedly benefits the poor tenants is condemned as a source of additional gain to the estate. Fees for transfers of occupancy rights amounting to 25 percent of the purchase money or 6 times the annual rental are considered illegal. Responsible officers of the Raj employed on flood relief measures under most trying circumstances are accused of looting the foodgrains issued to them for distribution. Such being the feelings and notions contained in that famous pamphlet which has earned notoriety for its worthy author, it is for the Hon'ble members to decide if any importance is to be attached to it.

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Exhibit-Two

A short note of melis : past and present in Kanika

The formation of melis is characteristic with the people of Kanika. Such a characteristic is not to be found anywhere else in Orissa. Reference to paras 163 & 165, chapter III, pages 64 & 65 of the Survey settlement report of the estate by Mr. Sakhawat Hussain will show that there was a meli whenever anything special or important happened. There were repeated melis during the time of the old Rajas on account of which they were compelled from time to time to place the estate under government management. There were melis during government management as well as management by the Court-of-Wards. The following extracts from Mr. Hussain's report will give a clear insight into the matter :

Mr. Collector Stevenson's inspection notes dated 30th November, 1893, (Para 163, page 64 of the Survey settlement report)

"11. From what I have learnt since I came to Kanika I fear that as has been the case at every resettlement here so far, e. g., 1872-73, there will be an attempt at a combination not to pay rents at new settlement rates. The raiyats of Chhamuka excepted, the tenants are beginning to grumble. Though, as above noted, nearly all signed the khatians, and 95 percent of these did so before the manager, and though a ticket showing the raiyat's name, area of his holding, and rent as per resettlement was given to each tenant when he signed the khatian, ignorance of the result of resettlement cannot now after all these months be pleaded, yet many raiyats have been declaring that they would not pay the new rents."

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165. The Settlement Officer, late Babu Sapneswar Das, spent several years in close contact with the people, and the remarks recorded by him in his settlement roydad of 1865-71 concerning the mustagirs are as follows :-

"In this estate mustagirs are appointed for purposes of collection. These mustagirs know nothing else beyond harassing the raiyats and trying to misappropriate the rents collected by them. They are unfaithful and untrue. Whenever any pressure is put upon them in consequence of their not paying to the estate the rents collected by them. they combine and form meli. In consequence of such malpractices on the part of the mustagirs the former Rajas of the estate being unable to realise their dues, were frequently driven to the necessity of having their estate placed under government management. This fact is evident from the old records of the estate. When the present Raja, Padmanabh Bhanj Bahadur, made over the estate to government the rents due from the mustagirs could never be realised. The mustagirs are not men of substance and securities furnished by them being invalid, not even one-sixteenth of the amount misappropriated by them is realised. This system, if continued for ever, will be injurious to the interests of the estate."

"The mustagirs, who are local officers in Raja's time, had, by their melis, given great deal of trouble to the former Rajas, and had proved themselves quite intractable. It was their stubbornness and obstinacy which drove Raja Benayak Bhanj in 1843 to make over his estate to government for

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management. They have not as yet given up their old tactics, for they got up a meli this year too, and the affair has been noticed in the collector's inspection notes, extracts from which bearing on this point have been quoted in paragraph 163 above. This year's meli was a big affair, almost all the people joining in it, some actively but great many passively. There were, however, no real grievances, but only a mass of misrepresentations supporting a fictitious agitation which of course was bound to end in smoke, and so it ended. The ignorant raiyats are very docile but liable to be easily led, and it is always easy for the wicked mustagirs to get up a meli which usually benefits a few leaders who are allowed to take charge of the common funds. As natural leaders of tenants, the mustagirs are mischievous, and as collectors of rent from tenants, oppressive and unscrupulous ; but from an ignorant class of men we could reasonably expect no better behaviour."

Suddanand, Purbanund Swantra,

Sudasib Mohapasaet,

Bidyadhar Mohapasaet,

Narsing Sreedhar Naik,

Minute by Mr. A. J. Moffatt Mills, Commissioner of Cuttack dated 23-1-1817 :- "The paiks of Kujang and Kunka are a very troublesome class and it is a wise and politic course to allow them, as has been done in the latter estate to subside and amalgamate with the raiyats. The individuals noted in the margin are continually exciting the raiyats to withhold their revenue, and in other ways fomenting discord. The collector is aware of their intrigues, and will I hope, counteract them ; but a vigilant eye should be kept on their proceedings."

During the last 20 years that the Raja Bahadur has taken over management of

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the estate from the Court-of-Wards, there was a meli in 1904 while Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Das, Deputy magistrate & Deputy collector, was manager of the estate. This was due to a change introduced by government in the rent receipt form. There was another meli in 1906 in which Dinabandhu Khandaitray, one of the ring-leaders of the present meli, took the lead. In course of this meli false and sensational telegrams mentioning house breaking at night, theft and even murder, were sent to government and the local officials, and after proper inquiries government had to take steps to stop such false and sensational telegrams.

Fortunately there were no melis for about 15 years after 1906. The present one is due to the general activities of the non-co-operators. Since July 1921 there have been regular and systematic activities here of the non-co-operators. Failing to secure the sympathy of the Raj, the non-co-operators tried to set the tenants against it as the people here have very little to do with government. False hopes held out to ignorant people regarding non-payment of Raj dues and taxes gradually excited them. One Ramdas Babaji held the first meeting on 2-7-21 in mouza Ganjam, when some influential people and a few of the Raj employees who contradicted and criticised the statements of the non-co-operators were insulted. Even at Aul, speeches were delivered against this Raj by some of the non-co-operators. This was one of the many speeches which formed the subject matter of the case under Sec. 108 against the said Babaji tried by the District Magistrate

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and a sentence of one year's rigorous imprisonment passed. A permanent ashram was started at Kantapara about half a mile from Rajkanika the headquarters of the Raj. This ashram is still there.

Constant activities of the non-co-operators here as well as speeches against the school and its authorities greatly excited the school boys who went on strike on two occasions while the principal non-co-operators where here. The second strike gave an impetus to the non-co-operators and they took full and undue advantage of it. Non-co-operation songs and kirtans were for sometime sung almost daily and school boys including several of tender age were made to join the processions daily. The school boys got so excited and defiant that even boys 9 or 10 years old insulted their fathers and refused to return home. By these songs and sankirtans the feelings of the masses were greatly excited. At the same time a Swaraj jajna was performed to which a very large number of people of several villages were invited with a view to impress upon them that Swaraj was about to be established and the British government was about to cease. The gathering consisted of more than a thousand people.

Excited speeches were delivered both against the government and the Raj and several false and alluring hopes held out. At the end some foreign clothes given by a few of the people present were burnt. When sometime after this Ramdas was arrested there was great excitement among the people. Different batches of sankirtan parties were moving about the whole day.

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In the evening a meeting was held near the cutchery compound. At this meeting the principal non-co-operator Jadumani Mangaraj actually proclaimed that after a short time there would be no boys in the school, no amlas in the cutchery and no tenant would pay Raj dues. The next two days were spent in sankirtans by the by the non-co-operators as well as the school boys. People were given to understand from time to time that Swaraj would very soon be established when the British government would cease to exist and the people would no longer have to pay rents, taxes, etc. Constant and unchecked carrying out of their propaganda in the interior from village to village greatly excited the ignorant masses. Civil disobedience was about to be started on 1-1-22. All these had most injurious effect upon the ignorant people who are easily led away by others.

It has since been learnt that one Harekrushna Mahtab one of the principal non-co-operators in the Balasore district actually urged upon the local non-co-operators to start civil disobedience by non-payment of rents and taxes at any cost as a part of the congress programme. He has also issued a most seditious and inflammatory leaflet addressed to school boys asking them to prepare themselves for a fight with the foreign government. A copy of this leaflet and its translation are annexed.

One of the ring-leaders of the present meli is one Joyram Rai of Ayatan. He was a teacher of the lower classes of the high school here. He was found to have secretly

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joined the non-co-operators and was treacherously trying to injure the school that fed him. On the 17th of November 1921 he wanted leave in order to observe Hartal on account of His Royal Highness the prince of Wales's arrival in Bombay. He was a thoroughly incompetent teacher whose services had been retained simply because he happened to be a resident of the Raj. For these reasons the managing committee on receipt of a report from the headmaster decided that it was no longer advisable to retain him in the school. He was accordingly placed under suspension on the 6th of December 1921 and his case referred to a special committee for enquiry and report. He has since been dismissed as it is not safe to keep him in the school any longer.

Another ring-leader of the present meli is one Ananda Jena of Dalikaenda. He is almost a pauper. He was formerly teacher of the L. P. School at Meghpur. The circle sub-inspector of schools did not consider him to be a desirable or safe man to serve in any primary school and recommended his dismissal.

Since they have been out of employment both Joyram Roy and Ananda Jena have been trying to do mischief to the Raj by setting up against it the tenants of a portion of the headquarters sub-division with the help of Dinabandhu Khandaitray of Bartani who took a leading part in the meli of 1906 and a few others. On the occasion of the meli of 1906 Dinabandhu filed a petition for pardon which was granted. Dinabandhu and his brothers Sadananda Rasikray and Purnananda

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Routray (President of Union No. 9, Bartani, of Thana Aul) are big money-lenders carrying great influence over the people. Two others who have been exciting the people against the Raj are Upendranath Subudhiray of Joynager and Aswinikumar Palai of Raulia. The former was for some-time Potdar in the service of the Raj. While in service he took prominent part in the non-co-operation movements here. Against the other man a large amount of decretal money has long been outstanding.

An attempt was made in December last to stop the collection of Tuccavi loans granted in 1920 as well as arrear rents. Fortunately we managed to get over the situation somehow. In January last the refractory tenants headed by the people named above formed a combination and having resolved to withhold payment of rents for the current year sent a petition by post on the 16th of January. Although there is a post office here the petition was posted at Chandbali by Joyram Rai. It was most badly wounded and as the kist collection was fixed for 20th, 21st and 22nd there was hardly time to dispose of it. On the eve of the kist collection days, i. e. 19th of January, some of the refractory tenants approached the Raja Bahadur who promised to look into their grievances on the 23rd and 24th before he left for Delhi on the 25th, after they had paid up rents on kist colllection days.

We had not the slightest indication of this combination beforehand and so the whole thing came upon us as a great surprise. The attitude of these people has been defiant and for little or no cause they are

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prepared to be violent. At Ayatan they established a branch committee of the All-India Congress and in the interior they have started several circle committees. In fact they have adopted civil disobedience and non-payment of rents and taxes according to congress programme. In one of their meetings at Ayatan they proposed to object to the increase in the Chowkidari tax and subsequently decided to withhold payment of rents. It is since reported that they will forcibly cut trees on Raj-sarkar lands. They have boycotted the tenants that paid rents and have been constantly intimidating them in various ways. They have since been moving in hundreds in order to compel people by intimidation to join the agitation and give their thumb impressions and signatures. They have started picketting people who have not joined the agitation and are preventing them from coming to us.

Some of the principal non-co-operators have come here since about a week. To aviod measures being taken by government against them these people have advised the refractory tenants to give out that they have no concern with the non-co-operators or their movements. But the presence here at this time of some of the principal non-co-operators including Jadumani Mangaraj is surely significant. He seems to be proud of the fact that his hopes have partly been fulfilled.

The present situation and atmosphere are such that any least thing or attempt to collect the legitimate dues of the Raj will lead to breach of the peace and serious violence. The general excitement

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among the people and their defiant attitude towards the authorities should be put down at once. They have been intimidating in various ways and boycotting the tenants that have paid up their rents. The greatest danger is that unless immediate and effective steps are taken the contagion will soon spread to other parts of the Raj. The employees find it extremely difficult to have accommodation in the interior and they are prevented from doing their work. Even the local employees are refused shelter by their own kith and kin. If this state of things continues, surely there will be serious breach of the peace which government will have to put down with great cost and trouble. I would therefore strongly urge upon the authorities that in order to keep these people under proper control a temporary police station fully equipped may be established in the locality to prevent sudden and violent breach of the peace. It may be mentioned here that the nearest police station at Aul is about 10 miles from the centre of activities of these melias, with two rivers between, and so it is not possible to obtain immediate assistance in case of sudden outburst of violence.

27-2.22.

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Exhibit-Three

Note on non-co-operation propaganda in Kanika

January, 21

1. Narsingha Saringi, a student at Cuttack came to Kanika to see his father who is an employee of the estate and talked about the non-co-operation movement.

2. Dwarakanath Mahapatra, an assistant teacher of the Rajendra Narayan High English School, who is a friend of Bhagirathi Mahapatra, Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee resigned his post and went away.

February, 21

3. Jadumani Mangaraj, a non-co-operation preacher from Cuttack visited Rajkanika. A meeting was held at the school on the 10th to distribute war medallions and while the headmaster was going to address the pupils, Jadumani wanted to get in but he was not allowed.

April, 21

4. Dwarakanath Mahapatra (para 2) was appointed a teacher and sent to Kanika from Cuttack. He came here, remained for about a fortnight, and recruited members. The

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		Raja Bahadur made him leave this place. So he went to Aul.
May, 21	5.	Udoykar Misra, a student of the High School, left the school on 21st May and joined the movement.
15th June, 21	6.	An anti-non-co-operation meeting was held at the Rajbati and presided over by the Raja Bahadur. It was attended by President Panchayats of Aul, Rajnagar and Chandbali Police Stations and may respectable people of Kanika. The President explained the evils of non-co-operation and a committee was formed to combat the movement.
July, 21	7.	Ramdas Babaji, a violent non-co-operation preacher came to Kanika and convened a meeting and preached non-co-operation. This was the first non-co-operation meeting at Rajkanika.
July, 21	8.	Second non-co-operation meeting addressed by Ramdas Babaji.
July, 7 to/21	9.	Ramdas and his party preached non-co-operation in the interior.
July, 21	10.	Ramdas and his party

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		preached non-co-operation at Kalikapur.
9th July, 21	11.	Ramdas Babaji sat in front of the Rajbati and shouted 'Gandhi Mahatma ki joy' on seeing the Raja Bahadur.
10th Do	12.	Ramdas left Rajkanika.
24th Do	13.	Ramdas came back with Jadumani Mangaraj and Madhusudan Patnaik, two violent preachers.
25-29th Do	14.	The party moved about in the interior and preached non-co-operation.
30th Do	15.	Meeting held at Ayeton and addressed by Ramdas and his party.
31st July to 3rd Aug, 21	16.	The party remained at Kantapara near the Rajbati and preached non-co-operation.
4th Aug, 21	17.	Atalbehari Acharya, Secretary, Cuttack Congress Committee, arrived with a dozen of non-co-operators, and Gandhi sankirtan was held at Rajkanika.
5th Do	18.	A meeting was held near the Manager's cutchery. Atalbehari and others sang non-co-operation songs and raised subscriptions for Tilak fund.

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	19.	Students of High English School went on a strike but it was settled by the Raja Bahadur.
6th Do	20.	Non-co-operation songs sung and subscriptions raised in mouza Ganja.
7th Do	21.	Do. Do. at Olabhar.
8th Do.	22.	Atalbehari Acharya left for Cuttack via Aul.
9th Aug. to 12th Sept.,21.	23.	Ramdas Babaji and others moved about in the interior and enlisted members. Madhusudan Patnaik and some others preached Non-co-operation in Kerera. Ramdas visited Ghariamal and left for Cuttack.
13th Sept.,21.	24.	Madhusudan Patnaik, Ramdas and others again visited Rajkanika.
14th & 15th Do.	25.	The party remained at Kantapara near Rajbati and preached non-co-operation.
16th Do.	26.	Jadumani Mangaraj came and held a meeting at Kalikapur where foreign cloths were burnt.
17th Do.	27.	Students of High English School went on strike again and remained at Kantapara

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		with Ramdas and others. It was proposed to break the high english school and establish a national school. Jadumani Mangaraj held a meeting in the evening near the manager's cutchery where some foreign cloths were burnt. Upendra Subudhiray, Potdar of the Raj treasury and Joyram Rai, a teacher of the High English School joined the non-co-operation movement. The former offered a piece of foreign cloth to be burnt and the latter was selected a teacher of the proposed national school.
18th Do.	28.	Gandhi sankirtan in front of the Rajbati. Ramdas shouted "Pandit Joyram Rai ki Jai".
19th Do.	29.	"Swaraj Jajna", performed at Kantapara near Rajbati. A meeting was held there and Jadumani said in the course of his speech that the tenants were not bound to pay rent and taxes. Both Joyram Rai and Upendra Subudhiray (para 27) took an active part in the "Jajna".
20th to 22nd Sept./1921.	30.	The party moved about and preached non-co-operation in the interior. Gandhi kirtan was held in the interior.

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23rd Sept.,21	31.	Preparation made for starting a national school but without success. An alternative propopsal was to establish national school at Aul with the students of the Kanika High English School.
24th Do.	32.	Bhagirathi Mahapatra, Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee and Jadumani Mangaraj arrived. Then Gandhi sankirtan all over the place. As the former had been served with notice under Section 144 C. P. C., the party left in the afternoon to the Balasore portion of Kanika to preach non-co-operation there.
26th Do.	33.	The party returned from the Balasore portion of the Raj and left for Aul.
27th Do.	34.	Gandhi Sankirtan all over the place.
28th Do.	35.	Ramdas Babaji was arrested at Kantapara by the Inspector of Police, Kendrapara, under orders of the S. P. and taken away. Jadumani Mangaraj came from Aul and Gandhi sankirtan was held. Jadumani Mangaraj addresses a meeting. He said that the Raja of Kanika would soon feel the

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		consequences of Ramdas Babaji's arrest. The consequences would be that all the boys would leave the High English School, all the amlas would leave the Raja's office and no tenant would pay rent. He left the same place the same night for Kendrapara.
29th Sept.,21	36.	A telegram was sent by Ramdas's admiters and congress members to sub-divisional officer protesting against the arrest of Ramdas. It was signed by Chakradhar Behera, Jugal Kishore Das (employs of the Raja), Bhagaban, Basantarai and Jogi Maharan (tenants). Gandhi sankirtan was held the whole day. A C.I.D. officer visited Rajkanika.
30th Do.	37.	Madhusudan Patnaik held a meeting at Rajkanika. Gandhi sankirtan was held and foreign cloths were burnt.
October, 1921.	38.	The party visited Kerara-Kaladwip (P. S. Rajnagar) for propaganda work and returned to Chhamuka. Gaydhar Samal, Faram overseer of the estate, while on tour preached non-co-

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operation at Narendrapur. Subsequently he absented himself without leave.

Oct. & Nov.,21.

39. Chakradhar Behera, Assistant Accountant of manager's office, openly joined the non-co-operation movement and absented himself from duty owing to which he was suspended.

17th Nov.,21 40. Joyram Rai, Pandit of Rajendra Narayan High English School (para 27) asked for leave stating that he wanted to observe "Hartal" on the day 21st Nov. 21, the day of arrival in India of Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. He was later on placed under suspension.

Ananda Jena of Dalikainda, second Pandit of Chaluia Upper Primary School, was removed from service by the school authorities.

Nov.,21 41. The aforesaid Joyram Rai and Ananda Jena preached non-co-operation amongest tenants in the interior, excited tenants against the Raja.

December,21 42. A very large numbers of tenants were enlisted as

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congress members. Formation of a meli decided upon.

February,22 43. Jadumani Mangaraj and Madhusudan Patnaik visited Kanika again and helped the formation of the meli. Jadumani boasted in the presence of a police officer that the prediction made by him on the date of the arrest of Ramdas (see para 35) had been partly fulfilled.

Feb.,22 44. The following telegram was sent by Harekrushna Mahtab from Motiganj.

Mahtab

To Santhacharan Behera, Swaraj asram, Chandbali.

Just starting Delhi. Congress meeting 24th. Attendance necessary. Cannot go. Shall go immediately returning. Sending volunteers. Observe non-violence. Care not suffering. Congress prohibits tax rent non payment. Peacefully resist detrimental settlement. 'Violence undoes all. Shun un-necessary provocation. Non-violence absolutely necessary. Starting about 29th.

Feb.,22 45. Cyclostyled Oriya leaft-lets issued by Harekrushna Mahtab.

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EXHIBIT-FOUR

NOTE ON OVERACTS COMMITTED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE MELI IN KANIKA

1. On the night of the 16th February, 1922 about 700 persons armed with lathis and headed by Ananda Chandra Jena, Joyram Rai, Kalpataru Choudhury, Upendra Subudhiray marched from village Bortoni to village Ghadiamal and threatened the people of Balarampur, Khamarsahi, Daruora, Ghadiamal, Iswerpur, Dighi, Junagada, Madhupur, Nuagaon, Righagarh who had not joined the meli and realised subscriptions from them.

2. On the 4th March, 1922 a meeting of the mahasabha was held at Meghpur and the following accused persons took part in it viz. : Dinabandhu Khandaitray Ananda Chandra Jena, Joyram Rai, Kalpataru Choudhury, Radhamohan Madanrai and Madhusudan Patnaik and a resolution was passed that the employees of the estate should be beaten and driven out if they came to any village to collect rent or transact any other business.

3. On the 4th March, 1922 at Meghpur Lambodar Mahapatra, Radhamohan Madanrai, Kalpataru Choudhury and Upendra Subudhiray threatened and intimidated Risi Behera and Sadananda Beliarsing for not joining the meli and for attesting the service of a notice on certain tenants of Susua. Sadananda has since joined the meli.

4. On the 5th March Lambodar Mahapatra, Bhagaban Suttar, Ananda Jena and Joyram

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Rai asked one Udaynath Biswal a Moharir of the estate to join the meli and was threatened and intimidated and subsequently ex-communicated and otherwise ill-treated.

5. On the 6th March 1922 at Jainager Upendra Subudhiray threatened and intimidated Bhakta Charan Das, a Moharir of the estate who is stationed at Jainager on duty and prevented the village barber, washerman and Pujhari from serving him.

6. On the same date at Bajrapur Kalpataru Choudhury and others of his village threatened and intimidated Ratnaker Jena and Banamali Mallik, peons of the estate who visited Bajrapur on duty and forced them to leave the village.

7. On the same date at Madarangapat there was an assembly of about 100 persons and Chintamoni Raout and Bhakta Charan Mohanty, peons of the estate also visited the village on duty, were threatened with assault.

8. On the same date at Ayetan about 50 persons headed by Bhagaban Suttar, Bhabagrahi Guru, Agani Behera threatened to assault Khetramohan Mangaraj, Udaynath Biswal, Moharirs and Ghanashyam Das, Kesab Barik and Bauribandhu Mohanty peons of the estate and forced them to leave the village.

9. On the 8th March at Khandaita, Joyram Rai assaulted Haricharan Das, Moharir and made him leave the place.

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10. On the same date at Ayetan, Lambodar Mahapatra. Kalpataru Choudhury, Upendra Subudhiray, Bhagaban Suttar, Radhamohan Madanrai, Joyram Rai and Dinabandhu Khandaitray asked Jaganath Das of Ayetan to join the meli and on his refusal threatened him with assault and subsequently ex-communicated and otherwise oppressed him.

11. On the 24th March, Bhagaban Suttar and other assaulted Dai Mallik and Fakir Mallik who work under Jaganath Das as labourer.

12. On the same date at Ayetan hat Joyram Rai, Bhagban Suttar, Lambodar Mahapatra and Agani Behera threatened to assault Khetramohan Mangaraj, Tahsildar and said that any person paying rent to the estate should be killed. Shop-keepers were prohibited from selling food to the Moharirs and other employees.

13. At a meeting of the mahasabha held at Meghapur on the 4th March, 1922 one Bhikari Sujan Mani was fined Rs. 20/- by Dinabandhu Khandaitray and others for giving shelter and supplying food to Udaynath Mohanty a Moharir of the estate who visited Koilipur on 25-1-22.

14. On the 10th March at Deuli, Kalpataru Choudhury, Krishna Mohalla, Purnananda Rautray and Joyram Rai threatened to assault Udaynath Naik and Udaynath Jena, Moharirs of the estate.

15. On the 11th March at Dalikainda, Bhabagrahi Guru assaulted one Bhagaban Behera for

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accepting a notice issued by the estate to his father.

16. On the 12th March at Tentulikuli, Bhagaban Suttar, Lambodar Mahapatra and Radhamohan Madanrai threatened to assault one Nisamoni Behera for giving food supply to a Moharir of the estate. He has been socially boycotted.

17. On the 15th March at Bansaria, Lambodar Mahapatra, Kalpataru Choudhury, Agani Behera, Ananda Jena, Joyram Rai and Bhagaban Suttar threatened to punish Dattahari Dakhin Rai and Surjamoni Balabantara for paying rent to the estate.

18. On the 17th March 1922 at Tentulipali about 100 persons headed by Lambodar Mahapatra, Bhagaban Suttar, Joyram Rai, Radhamohan Madanrai and Agani Behera surrounded the house of one Risi Behera, threatened to assault him and burn his house for not joining the meli. He fled from the village with his family. He returned home and was again threatened on the 22nd by Radhamohan Madanrai and others. On the 11th April 1922 his house was surrounded by about 150 men headed by Radhamohan Madanrai, Lambodar Mahapatra, Bhagaban Suttar, Agani Behera and Ananda Jena who threatened to set fire to his house and he was left off on agreeing to pay a fine of Rs. 10/-.

19. On the 17th March at Khandaita a meeting was held by the Circle Sabha where two men named Brindaban Dubey and Purusottam Mahanta were threatened

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and excommunicated for selling food to certain employees of the estate.

20. On the 18th March one Mani Maharathi while passing through village Meghapur was caught by some melias and assaulted for not joining the meli. Subsequently Radhamohan Madanrai and others threatened to burn his houses.

21. On the 19th March at Panderkuli Lambodar Mahapatra. Agani Behera and others made people swear on Mahaprasad that they would assault and turn out the employees of the estate. One Bhikari Misra was excommunicated.

22. On the same date a meeting was held at Khandaita and Brindaban Dubey and Madhusudan Sundera were threatened with assault and excommunicated.

23. On the 19th March at Dalikainda about 50 headed by Bhabagrahi Guru, Krishna Mahalla and others threatened to assault two men named Udaynath Misra and Raghunath Misra and excommunicated them.

24. On the 20th March in pursuance of the decision of the mahasabha, the jungles near villages Deuli, Kuhudi, Kantadiha, Bangerkuan, Banamahuri and Siko were destroyed by fire causing extensive damage.

25. On the 21st March Upendra Subudhiray threatened to assault and boycotted Baidhar Biswal of Joynagar for not joining the meli.

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26. On the 22nd March at Ayetan, Bhagaban Suttar and Joyram Rai threatened to assault Dibakar Padhi and compelled him to give up the Pooja, if a temple owned by the estate.

27. On the 24th March at Bansaria Dinabandhu Khandaitray and Lambodar Mahapatra with others assaulted and excommunicated one Surjamani Balabantara for not joining the meli. They also threatened to burn his house and loot his paddy. His servants have been compelled to leave him.

28. On the 26th March at Meghapur Dinabandhu Khandaitray, Radhamohan Madanrai and others assaulted Shyam Charan Paschim Kabat of Kotsahi for refusing to join the meli.

29. On the 29th March about 300 persons went to the Bhitar Kanika Reserve Forest with 30 beats and cut down a large number of trees and removed the wood. In this connection 56 persons who are members of the meli are arrested by police and about a thousand persons armed with lathis assembled at the house of Dinabandhu Khandaitray on the 29th and marched as far as the Ghariamal ghat with intent to rescue the accused persons. Two men of the assembly viz. Sadananda and Purnananda were armed with guns.

30. On the 3rd April at the mahasabha held at Meghpur, Dinabandhu Khandaitray, Sadananda, Radhamohan, Bhagaban Suttar, Lambodar Mahapatra, Agani Behera and Krishna Mahalla announced that another

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attack would be made on the reserve forest and that 300 men would be sent with 50 beats to cut trees and carry away wood from the forest.

31. On the 3rd April Radhamohan Madanrai conveyed threats to Khetramohan Mangaraj and Fakir Charan Patnaik Moharirs through Krishna Chandra Das, settlement Inspector.

32. On the 10th April at a meeting of the Mahasabha at Bortoni, Dinabandhu Khandaitray, Sadananda Rasikray, Upendra Subudhiray, Lambodar Mahapatra, Agani Behera, Ananda Jena, Radhamohan Madanrai, Krishna Mahalla and Bhabagraha Guru proposed that Bhakta Charan Das, Khetramohan Mangaraj and Fakir Charan Patnaik should be killed for giving evidance against the accused in the forest case.

33. On the 29th March about 100 members of the meli surrounded the house of one Dadhi Sahu of Iswerpur, assaulted him and fined him Rs. 2/- for not joining the meli.

34. On 2nd April 1922 at Bansaria, Lambodar Mahapatra and Agani Behera threatened to assault Chintamani Misra for not joining the meli.

35. On the 8th April at the mahasabha held at Meghapur, Dinabandhu Khandaitray, Purnananda Routray, Lambodar Mahapatra, Bhagaban Suttar, Ananda Jena, Radhamohan Madanrai and Agani Behera announced that a deputation would wait on the proprietor of Aul and ask for help from

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him. A deputation went to Aul, on the 9th and there was a meeting in the house of the proprietor where Madhusudan Patnaik was also present. There was a feast and the assembled left Aul at 9 p. m. and there was a riot about mid-night at Bansaria in the house of which several peons of the Kanika estate viz. Jagu Mohanty, Hari Singh, Sayed Muzaffar Ali and Shaik Salu and others were assaulted and falsely accused of incendiarism.

36. On the 9th April at Dalikainda, Ananda Jena assulted Khetramohan Mangaraj.

37. The same day Radhamohan Madanrai threatened to assault Krishna Chandra Das and ordered him to leave the place (Ayetan).

38. On the 10th April at Jainagar, Upendra Subudhirai assaulted Udaynath Mohanty peon and threatened Narayan Chandra Naik and Keshab Chandra Rath, Moharirs and forced them to leave the place.

39. On the 10th April, Surjamani Subudhiray a Moharir of the estate while passing through village Mathasahi was threatened by Lambodar Mahapatra and Ananda Chandra Jena that the Rajkanika town would be invaded and that the employees of the estate would be assaulted by thousand lathials.

40. On the 12th April, trees in the garden of one Chema Das of Pinpudi were destroyed by fire, he being one of the two persons in the village who has not joined the meli.

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He had been threatened by Bhagaban Suttar, Ananda Chandra Jena, Radhamohan Madanrai and Purnananda Rautray that his house would be burnt if he did not join the meli. His house was probably spread because it is closed to houses of melias.

41. On the 13th April, Bhasker Mahanti who has not joined the meli while passing through Chalunia was caught by some melias and taken to Dinabandhu Khandaitray who told the people that Bhasker was an incondiary and ordered them to beat him.

42. The melias have also committed other wrongful acts such as cutting trees, plucking fruits and catching fish by force :-

Plucking fruits

3-4-22	Bangarkuan
9-4-22	Kalisipada
Do.	Pimpudi
Do.	Akhulipada
Do.	Kuhudi
Do.	Mullisahara
Do.	Bertoni
Do.	Chaloonia
Do.	Nundimahara
Do.	Odegeria
Do.	Nahulia

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Catching fish

20-3-22	Pimpudi
25-3-22	Nahulia
Do.	Ahulipada
4-4-22	Hariharpur sasan
5-4-22	Deoli
Do.	Bangerkuan
Do.	Joynagar
11-4-22	Jorole

They are also taking thumb impressions and signatures by force and intimidations from many persons to bind them to the meli and realising subscriptions by similar means.

Dated the
17th April, 1922

Officer-in-charge of
Aul Police Station.

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EXHIBIT-FIVE

NOTE ON NON-CO-OPERATION PROPAGANDA IN KANIKA, CONSEQUENT COMBINATION OF TENANTS AND COMMISSION OF OVERT-ACTS

When Rajabahadur intended to visit England he convened a meeting in March 1921 with a view to know from the leading tenants if they had any complaints or grievances which he would settle before he left for England. We inquired from every one present but they all said that they had none.

15th of June 1921 : Another meeting was held at the Rajbati and presided over by the Rajabahadur. It was attended by president, panchayats of Aul, Rajnagar and Chandbali police stations and many responsible people of Kanika. The president explained the then situation caused by the non-co-operation propaganda and the evil effects thereof. At that time the non-co-operation movement had no effect in Kanika. This meeting was looked upon by the non-co-operators as a challenge to them.

2nd of July 1921: Ramdas Babaji with others came to Kanika, convened a meeting and preached non-co-operation.

3rd to 8th of July 1921: Ramdas and his party preached non-co-operation in the interior of Chhamuka, an Elaka of Kanika.

10th of July 1921: Ramdas left Rajkanika.

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24th of July 1921: Ramdas came back with Jadumani Mangaraj and Madhusudan Patnaik, two violent preachers.

25th to 30th of July1921: The party moved about in the interior and held meetings.

The non-co-operators of the Cuttack district opened an ashram at Aul with the help of the proprietor of that estate and regularly communicated with the non-co-operators of Balasore district who had started an ashram at Chandbali in June, 1921.

4th of August 1921 Atalbehari Acharya, Secretary, Cuttack Congress Committee with other non-co-operators arrived at Rajkanika and held sankirtan and moved about the town specially School, Cutchery, Palace and the quarters of the Raj officers.

5th of August 1921: A meeting was held near the Manager's cutchery. Atalbehari and others sang non-co-operation sangs and raised subscriptions for Tilak Fund. Students of Rajkanika High English School went on a strike but it was settled by the Rajabahadur.

9th Aug. to 12th Sept 1921: Ramdas Babaji and others moved about in the interior and enlisted members.

17th of September 1921: Students of Rajkanika High English School went on strike again and remained at Kantapara with Ramdas, Jadumani Mangaraj and others for some days under trees. This gave them an opportunity to carry on an extensible

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propaganda. Procession and sankirtan were formed which marched round the palace, cutchery, school and officer's quarters in a most undignified and defiant manner and abusive songs were also sung under the disguise of sankirtan. It was proposed to break the high english school and establish a national school. Jadumani Mangaraj held a meeting in the evening near the manager's cutchery where some foreign cloths were burnt.

19th of September 1921: This occasion was utilised to make a public demonstration with the help of large number of school boys who were on strike. They were made to march in Sankirtan and precession two or three times a day and with their help a "Swaraj jajna" was performed at Kantapara near Rajbati. A very large meeting was held there and speeches were delivered to the effect that the forests would not belong to the Raja as he did not plant the trees nor the fisheries as he did not rear the fish and hence should not take forest and fishery dues.

24th of September 1921: Bhagirathi Mahapatra, Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee and Jadumani held Gandhi Sankritan all over Rajkanika and the party left in the afternoon for the Balasore portion of Kanika to preach non-co-operation there as the farmer had been served with notice under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. in the Cuttack district.

26th of September 1921: The party returned from the Balasore portion of the Raj and left for Aul.

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28th of September 1921: Ramdas Babaji was arrested at Kantapara by the Inspector of Police, Kendrapara under orders of the Superintendent of Police and taken away. Jadumani Mangaraj came from Aul and sankirtan was held. Jadumani Mangaraj addressed a meeting near the cutchery in which he said that the Raja of Kanika would soon feel the censequences of Ramdas Babaji's arrest. The consequences would be that all the boys would leave the High English School, all the Amlas would leave the Raja's office and no tenant would pay rent. He left Rajkanika the same night for Kendrapara. Mention has been made of this speech in the judgement in Case No. 803/12, Mis. 1922, Emperor versus Dinabandhu Khandaitray and others under Sec. 107 Cr. P.c.(7)

After Ramdas arrest no public speeches were made but private propaganda from village to village and house to house were carried on and members enlisted and subscriptions in money and kind collected with a view to prepare the tract for mass civil disobedience. Facts were mis-represented ; false information and hopes given. It was said that Swaraj would be established within a month or a fortnight and that the people would have very little rent to pay and that they would have full right in forests, fisheries and other properties of the Raj. In short they would have all the blessings of *Ramrajya.*

December 1921: A very large number of tenants who enlisted themselves as

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congress members formed a combination and started village sabhas, circle sabhas and mahasabha. Weekly meetings were held. The tenants withheld Tuccavi loans which were to be repaid in December.

January 1922: Payment of rent for January Kist was also stopped by them. The tenants who did not join meli were boycotted, intimidated and coerced as will appear from the judgement in the case under Sec. 107 Cr. P. C. against Dinabandhu Khandaitray and 7 others.

February 1922: Leaflets were freely distributed, vide one leaflet dated 5-2-1922 signed by Harekrushna Mahtab, Secretary, Balasore District Congress Committee (L).

Jadumani Mangaraj and Madhusudan Patnaik visited Kanika again and helped the formation of the meli. Regular organisation of mahasabhas and circle sabhas were made.

March 1922 In the meeting of the executive committee of Balasore district congress held on 12-3-22 it was resolved to transfer Panchmuka of Killa Kanika from the jurisdiction of Thana Chandbali in Bhadrak Sub-divisional Congress Committee to that of Kendrapara Sub-divisional Congress Committee and Madhusudan Patnaik was placed in charge of the whole of Kanika as

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he was eulogised as a successful organiser (vide : SAMAJ dated 8-4-22). In March regular assault, house trespass and coercion were made by the melias to force law abiding people to join the combination. The employees were boycotted, people were forcibly stopped from coming to Raj cutcheries, fish was forcibly caught from Rajsarkar tanks, jungles were set fire to and people in large number raided reserved forests. Towards the latter part of March, people moved about in bands armed with lathis.

One Mani Maharathi, father of an employee of the Raj was obstructed and assaulted by the melias on the *18th of March* for coming to Raj cutchery at Ayeton to pay rent as will appear from the judgement in Criminal Case No. 50 G. R./55T of 1922 (A), Emperor through Mani Maharathi versus Shreekar Mahanti and two others under Sec. 341 I. P. C. This case was tried by Babu Madan Mohan Patnaik, 2nd Officer of Kendrapara and it ended in conviction of the accused.

26th March 1922 : 8 persons and on the following day, the 27th, 55 persons were arrested on the spot for theft of fuel from a reserved forest and they were all convicted by Mr. Van Grieken, the then Sub-Divisional Officer of Kendrapara in Cases No. 60 C. R. of 1922, Emperor versus Ratnakar Mallik and 40 others under Sec. 379 I. P. C (C), Emperor versus Kali Naik and 7 others under section 379 I. P. C. (B) and Emperor versus Jagabandhu Das and 13 others under Sec. 379 I. P. C. (D).

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April 1922 : A most cowardly and dastardly outrage was committed on the night of the 9th by some 3 or 4 hundred men after they had a meeting at Aul and were sumptously fed there over two Mohurirs and some peons of the Raj who were quietly sleeping in a village. They were dragged from the house at dead of night and severely beaten and some suffered grievous hurt vide case Emperor versus Punnananda Reutray and 7 others under Sec. 147 I. P. C. (E).

Throughout the agitation the non-co-operators made Aul their strong-held and were helped in every way by the proprietor.

A regular panic prevailed, the Raj employees and the people in support of the Raj were terror-stricken. All the employees came back from the interior out of fright to the headquarters at Rajkanika. It was censidered necessary to bring these facts to the notice of the authorities to take such steps as they thought proper as lawlessness prevailed in the whole tract. About the middle of April the S.D.O. of Kendrapara and the Superintendent of Police, Cuttack with 10 armed police arrived at Rajkanika. Some of the ring-leaders were arrested on the 18th April under Sec. 107 Cr. P. C. (for this case vide : statement of Madhusudan Patnaik).

On the same date the Raj peon Udayanath Das and a tenant

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named Narayan Sahu were so severely assaulted that the former was carried in a basket with fractured arm to Rajkanika hospital and the latter lay unconscious in village Patarpur, (vide : Case Emperor vrs. Punananda Jena (G).

It was considered necessary to issue notice under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting public meeting and assembly of more then 5 persons. Some special constables were enlisted. These measures were considered sufficient to quell the disturbance. Both the S.D.O. and the Supdt. of Police left Rajkanika about the 19th.

On the 20th of April the Inspector of Kendrapara with S.I. of Aul Thana and 4 armed police went to Patarpur to investigate the last case. They arrested 5 persons but on their way back they were surrounded by a mob of 2000 men who assaulted the police and forcibly rescued the prisoners. (vide : Case Emperor versus Purnananda Jena and 65 others under Sec. 147 I.P.C. which was tried by A. M. Roy, Deputy Magistrate (H). On receiving report from the Inspector of Police the S.P. had again to come down to Rajkanika on 22-4-22.

On the 23rd of April the Superintendent of Police while going to investigate the rescue case at Patarpur was attacked with a sword but fortunately he was saved by a constable as will appear from the judgement in case Emperor versus Suryamani Suttar and 3 others under Sec. 148 I.P.C. (I).

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On the 23rd of April a Chowkidar named Nidhi Mallik who was bringing the Superintendent of Police's dak from Aul Police Station was assaulted by a melia and his gamcha was snatched away as will appear from the judgement in the case, Emperor versus Udaynath Naik (J).

The firing took place on the 23rd of April and the unavoidable circumstances under which it was resorted to have been clearly stated in the judgement in the case Emperor versus Udaynath Naik and 31 others under Section 147 I.P.C. (K). The trying sub-divisional officer of Kendrapara has justified the firing in the conclusion of his judgement.

Till the firing no mention was made of any of the above facts in any newspapers even till now the papers interested in non-co-operation movement have tried to suppress these facts. It was after the firing that the allegations of house-trespass, looting, outraging modesty of women were published in some of the Oriya papers which were contradicted by the persons who were directly connected, in the Utkal Dipika. Three cases of defamation were instituted, one by a tenant who was falsely defamed and the other two by the police. But all the three cases were withdrawn on the accused making apology in court.

Sd/- Indramani Mohanty,
Superintendent, Kanika Raj.
30-7-24.

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Exhibit-Six

Note on short account of the Kanika Raj and the relation between the Landlord and the Tenants in the past

The public are aware that the relation between the landlord and the tenants in Kanika was always most satisfactory. This was borne out by testimony of reliable persons, newspapers as well as official records. In consequence of this, the tenants approached the landlord whenever they happened to be in need of anything or had any grievances to bring to his notice. When a tenant lost his house by fire he approached the landlord ; when he was in want of anything he appealed to the landlord. When any road was needed for the convenience of any village or group of villages, any embankment for the protection of crops, a tank or a channel for drinking or irrigation purposes or any other improvement for any locality was needed, the tenants came to the landlord. The landlord in his turn was always prepared to help the tenants as best as he could. When the tenants lost their crops by drought or floods, they came to the landlord for help. In such calamities, which unfortunately are frequent in Kanika, help was allowed in shape of Tuccavi loans carrying interest @ $6\frac{1}{4}$ p. c. per annum, gratuitous relief in various ways viz. rice deles, kitchen, cloth, etc. and even substantial help in cash to repair or re-build their houses. Thus the tenants had all their wants supplied by the landlord and seldom they approached the government or the outside public for any help. His kind and human treatment towards the

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tenants has always been appreciated by the public and the government. More than once the tenants themselves have expressed their gratitude towards the landlord by public demonstrations. As a particular instance we find that during the high floods of 1913 the Raja rendered all possible assistance to his tenants and enabled them to tide over their difficulties without approaching anybody for help. His services in this connection were duly appreciated by the government as will be seen from the following extracts from public records.

In course of his reply to questions in council, on the 29th of August, 1913 in connection with the relief measures adopted during the season of floods and scarcity in 1913, the Hen. Mc Pherson, then Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa observed

"Local relief funds have been opened and in this connection government desire to record the appreciation of the generosity of the Hen. Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika who has contributed very largely to the fund and has taken effective steps to assist the tenantry of his estate".

Commenting upon the same subject His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India said at the open Darbar held at Cuttack on the 28th of November, 1913 :-

"I am happy to think that on this occasion there was no less of life in your district and I trust that the prompt advances made by government and the organisation of relief funds, to which the Raja of Kanika generously

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contributed, together with the repair of the irrigation channels have done all that is humanly possible to minimise your losses".

We find also a good deal of comments on the subject in the press. I quote the following from one of the papers, "The leader, dated 26-9-22" :-

"We are glad to notice that the Raja of Kanika has been making arrangements to afford relief to his flood-distressed subjects. Altogether he has given away 1,20,000 rupees nearly half of his annual income. Orissa may feel proud of possessing a zamindar and a citizen of the breadth of view and humanity of the Raja of Kanika, whose annual income from his estate though not large, is deemed by him to belong morally to his tenants, whenever in distress. The country is in fact in need of having many dozens more Kanikas, among its zamindar class to look to the needs of its miserable tenantry with open eyes and a sympathetic heart."

This is no doubt a sentiment which is shared by many.

To cite another instance— the measures taken by the Raja to meet the severe calamities caused by the floods of 1920 are still fresh in the minds of the people. The floods of that year were the highest on record. Practically the entire Raj was under water and almost the entire population were affected. In such a devastated state of things rescue parties were immediately organised and sent out and there was not a single house even in the remotest corner of the Raj that was not visited during there or four days of the floods and where

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adequate help was not given. Even the Raja and his son visited several villages to look personally into the condition of the people and gave necessary help. It was surely due to prompt and timely measures that there was no loss of human lives on that occasion. All possible measures, gratuitous relief by rescue parties, Taccavi in shape of cash & paddy, kitchen, rice doles, distribution of cloth, opening out golas for sale of rice and paddy were adopted and help was rendered in various w ys to meet the situation. Over 95,000 units of persons were gratuitously relieved during the period of distress. These measures relieved government of all troubles and anxieties regarding his tenantry. These facts surely indicate that the relation between the landlord and the tenants has always been healthy in the past. Quite recently while formally opening the library provided by the Raja in connection with the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, His Excellency Sir Havilland Le Mesurier, Offg. Governor of Bihar and Orissa addressed as follows :-

"Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo,

The Principal, in his introductory speech, has already told us of your generosity in giving this library, the finest I believe which any college now possesses, the finest I am certain with which any college has started its work. He has told us that you paid the large sum required without hesitation inspite of the heavy private losses which have caused to you by the recent flood and distress in your estate. We all trust that the boubteous harvest which this year has yielded and which we hope for in coming years, will speedily wipe out these

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losses. But there is one aspect of your gift to which I am anxious to draw the attention of the students and others who are present today, that it may be stamped upon their memories and those of all subsequent users of the library. It is on official record that during the famine and scarcity you showed consideration and humanity to your tenants and it is well that those who benefit by your gift should remember that the generous doner did not confine his generosity to them but was also a human and liberal landlord and a man who stands by his plighted word."

Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo took over management of the estate from the Court-of-Wards in 1902. During the past 20 years he has effected improvements in all directions. For improvement of agriculture he maintains over 200 miles of roads and embankments, including several newly constructed. He is fully alive to the importance of sanitation and has provided over one hundred tanks for use of the tenants. He is perhaps the only estate in Orissa that maintains 3 charitable dispensaries for the benefit of the tenants. He is anxious for the spread of education in the estate. He has provided several U. P. and L. P. schools for boys and girls. He maintains a high english school at a great cost, one-fourth of which is hardly met from school fees. For spread of sanskrit education among the brahmin population of the estate, he has provided 5 Tels and a good number of stipends for the pupils. All these have been done without ever asking the tenants to contribute towards them in any shape.

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Apart from personal touch with the people the tenants are invited by the Raja once or twice a year for the purpose of enquiry into their grievances which are duly attended to. The Raja personally made such enquiries from the leading tenants in March 1921 when he was preparing for a trip to England. The tenants present stated that they had no grievances or complaints. In fact during the past 20 years there was hardly any complaint by the tenants against any of the Raj employees. Every attempt was made to settle all disputes peacefully and amicably. Admittedly Kanika was the best managed estate in Orissa at least, if not in the whole province. What then has caused the recent tension of feeling between the landlord and the tenants ?

It has been ascertained on enquiry that there was no immediate cause for the disturbances in Kanika and the remote causes new put forth are not real grievances at all. The whole trouble was brought about by outside influence i. e. the influence of the non-co-operation movement. From the very beginning the Raja was of opinion that the movement was detrimental to the interests of the country and did not therefore show any sympathy for it. Anticipating the mischievous effects of the movement he convened a meeting of the leading tenants of the estate, in June, 1921 and explained to them the evil effects of the agitation. In the meeting certain resolutions were passed condemning the movement. The proceedings of the meeting were published in some of the local newspapers.

Early in July some of the non-co-operators came to Kanika and held a meeting at which

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several of the employees and leading tenants were abused and insulted. Though their programme was non-co-operation with govt. they started their propaganda also against those who co-operated with government. They tried to set the people here against the landlord as well for the following reasons :-

(1) They found no sympathy or support from the estate.

(2) In all probabilities Kanika was marked out for the activities of the non-co-operators as it was one of the biggest and most important estates in Orissa and the Raja who was an acknowledged leader in Orissa was against the movement and

(3) The success of their programme in Kanika would make it easy for them to work in other estates.

It was probably for these reasons that they began their campaign here with undaunted energy. They found that as the people here had very little to do with the government, their preachings against government would not receive adequate sympathy from them. The people of Kanika like the ignorant people of other places would naturally look to some immediate gain. This could only be secured to them at the sacrifice of the poor landlord. The non-co-operators explored all avenues to give them hopes of immediate gain and hit upon the forest, fishery and land rents. Hope of exemption from payment or reduction in the amount of rents paid for forest, fishery and land naturally appealed to the imagination of the ignorant people. Exciting speeches were openly delivered at different places by different persons against

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the government and the Raja. Attempt was made to interfere with the boys of the local high english school who went on strike twice during the visit to Kanika of some non-co-operation leaders. The boys left the school and for three days they lived with the non-co-operators and even little boys showed utter defiance and disregard to their parents and guardians. A permanent ashram was started in the immediate neighbourhood of Rajkanika where under a tree named "Gandhibata" a Swaraj jajna was performed and a Swaraj flag hoisted in the presence of more than a thousand people. It was duly preached that no forest and fishery rents need be paid as the Raja did not plant the threes in the jungles nor rear fish in the rivers and tanks. Shortly after this one of the leading non-co-operators was arrested by the police and sent up for trial under Sec. 108 Cr. P. C. The same day a meeting was held by some of the non-co-operators by the side of the Raj cutchery compound at which it was announced that for the arrest, the Raja of Kanika would come to grief, no tenant would pay rent, the cutchery shall be without Amlas and the school shall be vacated. After this the non-co-operators gradually extended their activities to all parts of the estate, some dismissed employees of the estate joined them : most objectionable leaflets mentioning most vague allegations of oppression without any specific instances were widely circulated among the tenantry by outside non-co-operators and with the audacious preachings against the government and the Raj and false hopes of gain, the people, ignorant as they are, were easily led away.

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Gradually the no rent campaign and mass civil disobedience which formed parts of the non-co-operation programme were adopted in some parts of the country. By the beginning of January 1922, people were given to understand that Swaraj had already been established at other places and would soon be established here and that the British government was about to cease. They exorted the people to adopt civil disobedience in Kanika. A few days before the January instalment of rents were demanded, the people raised some objections based upon imaginary grounds and decided to stop payment of rents as a preliminary step towards mass civil disobedience. When they approached the Raja on the eve of the kist day he promised to look into their grievances within the next few days and induced them to pay up the rents demanded. But the people were determined to withhold rents and to observe civil disobedience if any attempt was made to realise the Raj dues from them. The Raja then issued strict orders to his employees not to interfere with the people in anyway and his order was loyaly carried out. About this time two of the leading non-co-operators visited Kanika, with motives best known to them and were proud of the fact that their expectations had been partly fulfilled.

Gradually the people grew more and more defiant and actually prevented the Raj employees from visiting any house or village on duty. Mass civil disobedience with its hideousness was in full swing. Secret meetings were held at night in almost all villages. People that remained loyal and faithful to the estate and did not join hands with the refractory tenants were oppressed

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in various ways. Large crowds armed with lathies marched from village to village coercing and intimidating people to join them. They resorted to picketting, boycotting, intimidating and assaulting people that did not join them and trespassed into their houses. People were compelled to give `their signatures and thumb impressions and to subscribe to the common fund. Such of them as refused to do so were subjected to penalty which was forcibly realised. In fact life and property of those who remained faithful to the Raj were most unsafe. Fish was forcibly caught from Rajsarkar tanks mango and other fruits were plucked from Rajsarkar trees and jungles destroyed by fire. Large numbers of people went to the reserve forests and forcibly cut and removed wood and destroyed valuable trees. These and other overt acts actually led to commission of offences resulting in breaches of public peace and the situation gradually grew worse. There was absolute lawlessness and life and property were not considered safe. Some families left Kanika and went to other places utterly panic-stricken. The combination affected some 200 villages. Even Presidents, Daffadars and Choukidars joined it. Hence it was found impossible, even by the police, to get any reliable information from the people. It was not until the people had actually assaulted the Raj employee and peons that the authorities took any action in the matter. In consequence of serious disorder and lawlessness proper steps had to be taken by the authorities. Action was taken against 12 ring leaders under Sec. 107 C.P.C. 4 of them having absconded, the case was decided against eight. The correspondence between several non-co-

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operator found on search from the different Swaraj ashrams and filed in court in the case, proved beyond doubt that the non-co-operators had got up the meli and were responsible for the disturbances caused thereby. All of them were bound down and required to furnish security to keep the peace for one year. Five of them having failed to furnish security are now in jail. One of the principal non-co-operators who was an accused in the case and is now in jail admitted that the situation in Kanika was due to the all India movement and that he was responsible to a certain extent for the breach of peace.

"As regards Kanika when the tenants had been paying their rents for the last 6 years and when they have suspended their rents this year, it is clearly believed that the All-India movement is solely responsible. When I was in charge of this part of India, I am responsible for the breach of peace."

The following extracts from the judgement in the 107 case may be read with interest.

The allegations against these accused person are that they are leaders of a meli (combination) started sometime in January, 1922. It will be seen from the evidence what were the intentions of these leaders. Their main objects were

(1) to dissuade the tenants from paying to the Raja of Kanika rents and other dues owing to him.

(2) to induce people to cut timber from the reserved forests of the estate.

(3) to catch fish from Raj tanks.

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(4) to pluck fruits from the Raja's gardens and to tops.

(5) to practise mass civil disobedience as propounded by the non-co-operators.

These accused persons or most of them are respectable residents of the locality and so great was the influence they wielded, that they managed to dupe almost all villagers of 110 villages, mostly all in a portion of the Raj called Chhamuka. The tenantry for the most part are an ignorant lot and it was not difficult to win them over, especially when such a beautiful prospect was placed before them.

The result of all this evil preaching was that the tenants actually withheld paying rents direct to the Raja, they caught fish in tanks of several villages and plucked fruit from the Raja's trees and took timber from reserved forests without permission. They also went far as to (set fire to) jungles in certain villages and thus causing loss to the Raja of Kanika. This was not all. It was necessary for Raj peons, Tahasildars and other employees to go to the different villages on estate business. These men were boycotted, washermen, barbers, bearers were not permitted to serve them, food stuffs were not sold to them and the people went to the length of assaulting them because these employees would visit the villages, they treated even their co-villagers in the same way if the melias found that they rendered any assistance to these employees.

It should be remembered that these melias were merely carrying out the orders

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of one or other of the sabhas, that had been started for the carrying out of their propaganda.

Before I deal with the special overt acts against each of these 8 accused persons I think I should say how this combination came into being. I have no doubt that it had its birth in the non-co-operation movement. One of the accused Madhusudan Patnaik is a non-co-operator.

Sometime in July or August 1921 these non-co-operators opened an ashram in village Kantapara, which they formally opened by performing a Swaraj jagya and naming of a banian tree standing as Gandhibata. At this ceremony speeches were delivered. Madhusudan Patnaik, Jadumani Mangaraj (another non-co-operator) in which they attacked the government and specially with regard to the Raja of Kanika said that the forests did not belong to him as he did not plant the trees nor did he rear the fish and hence should not take forest and fishery dues. At another meeting convened by the two above named non-co-operators on the day of arrest of one Ramdas Babaji another of the brotherhood, Madhusudan Patnaik and Jadumani Mangaraj addressed the people to the effect that as the people were weeping over the loss of the Babajee, so would the Raja of Kanika would weep when he found his Amla leaving his service, boys leaving his school and his rents remaining unpaid. Immediately after this, these two non-co-operators went into the interior and began collecting subscriptions. From these speeches one can clearly see what was their object—it was to prepare the tenants of Kanika for mass civil disobedience, first

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against their landlord. The leaders of the tenants among whom the 8 accused are counted took up the cue from these non-co-operators and some few months after as I have said before, in January 1922 held a meeting at which it was resolved that tenants should not pay any rent to the Raja. This meeting was presided over by the Dinabandhu Khandaitray and Ananda Chandra Jena also addressed it. This meeting of the leading representatives was called the mahasabha and subsequently village sabhas were formed and representatives of these formed themselves into the circle sabhas. These were started apparently to carry on their work more smoothly, and conveniently. The mahasabhas made known their decisions to the circle sabhas and wishes of the villagers were carried to the mahasabha by the circle sabha representatives. At first the mahasabha used to be held at Ayetan but this village is a busy place, a hat is held there, so Meghapur was selected for its meeting for the sake of secrecy. Several meetings of these institutions were held at which some or all of the accused were present and as pointed out above resolutions were passed as to boycott and assault of estate employees—what action should be taken against those recalcitrant tenants who persisted in rendering them any assistance and in refusing to join the melias.

I have mentioned above that Madhusudan Patnaik is a non-co-operator. In his first written statement he denied all the allegations against himself but in the second, in a way accepted responsibility for what had occured in Rajkanika. There can I think be no other view

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but that the whole situation was brought about by the non-co-operation movement. Search warrants were issued for search of certain ashrams in Bhadrak, Balasore, Kantapara and Satyabadi. Certain documents were found and a reference to them will clearly show that it was for the purpose of getting a hold on the tenants of Kanika that so much interest was taken in giving the amount of attention to Kanika as the non-co-operation leaders did. They specially deputed Ramdas Babaji and 2 volunteers for work in Kanika. Another letter from Atulbehari Acharya, Secretary, District Committee contains a certificate for Madhusudan for the splendid work he had done in Kanika. Kanika was always uppermost in their minds. Then there is a post card 21-4-22 from one Ramesh Chandra Jena to Harish Chandra Roy, it contains the following, "kindly make time to be at 9 o'clock after school hours or is it you would not like to see me on account of the meli or because Madhu and other non co-operators are at the root of the meli."

"Then in exhibit 5 we have" as I observe the people (of Chhamuka) have been gaining courage gradually. People are unwilling to render any service to the Raja even if they are paid.

"Then in exhibit 6 the same writer asks for information as todays on which sabhas are held and he asks that Khandaitray and Pandit arrange a meeting between a certain Wednesday and Saturday and ends with my respect to the brothers of Chhamuka.

"Exhibit 7 is very important. The same writer again (a non-co-operator)," Get your

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letter yesterday and came to all.... Tell Jayram Pandit to see that the meli amongst them is not broken up. If the meli is, they will held responsible for what has been done if not we would reap the result."

Then in a letter from one Radhashyam Exhibit 9 from the Swaraj ashram, Chandbali we get. The tenants of Chhamuka and Panchmuka have made a strong meli against the Raja's oppression and with a view to protest" and then an admission comes," "I and Madhu are connected in the meli affair since its inception. In the meanwhile he has gone (been arrested) one cannot imagine the fate of the tenants of the 2 mukas." Then other documents found relate to the alleged grievances of tanants and school boys and of their approaching the Raja, who these non-co-operators say, took no note of the grievances.

"These are sufficient to show the very intimate connection that the meli had with the non-co-operation movement and that the fate of the latter was bound up with that of the former."

The first specific case was instituted by the father of an employee of the estate against 3 of his co-villagers. It was a case of wrongful restraint and assault upon the complaint on 18-3-22. It was clearly proved that the complaint was thus molested because he did not join the unruly tenants. The following extract from the judgement of the trying magistrate will fully explain the case :-

"xxx and one would now be able to judge how eager the tenants would be to baffle the

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attempts of the insignificant minority who had faithfully adhered to the Raja. I am of opinion that the complainant was an eye sore to the unruly tenants and that led to his present difficulty."

All the three accused were convicted under Sec. 341 I.P.C. and fined Rs. 50/- each.

Four cases against 77 persons were instituted for forcibly cutting jungle produce from the Raja's reserved forests : 3 under Sec. 379 I.P.C in the Cuttack district on 27-3-22 and one under Sec. 411 I.P.C in the Balasore district as all the reserved forests lie within the Cuttack district. All the accused admitted their guilt but said that they forcibly cut and removed fuel and timber from the reserved forests in pursuance of decision arrived at a sitting of the mahasabha. They were convicted and lightly punished with fines varying from 10 to 30 rupees.

The next case was under Sec. 147 I.P.C. against 8 persons of whom 2 were Presidents of two Choukidari union and one a Daffadar. It was a case of attack upon some Moharirs and peons of the estate on 9-4-22 at dead of night while they were having a quiet sleep. They were attacked by a mob consisting of 4 or 5 hundred people, mercilessly beaten and driven out of the village after being robbed of the cloths and other things they had with them. The following extract from the judgement will clearly explain the case :-

"4. I accordingly find all the accused guilty U/S 147 I.P.C. i. e. rioting with the common object of assaulting and turning out the Raj

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peons. It was of course a cold blooded and unprovoked attack at dead of night on a number of peaceful peons sleeping innocently in their house, but in view of the penitent attitude of the accused I am inclined to deal leniently with them. Purnananda Routray and Lambodar Mahapatra and Presidents of unions and Muguni Behera is a Daffadar. It was clearly their duty to keep peace and order but instead they have broken it deliberately. I sentence each of them to undergo R. I. for 6 months. I sentence Upendra Mangaraj and Rama Behera the next prominent persons in the crime to undergo R. I. for four months each. The other three accused Pranakrishna Behera, Sridhar Naik and Trilochan alias Tila Behera who played only the second fiddle to undergo R. I. for one month each."

Then there was another case of rioting against 21 persons in connection with the service of a notice under the Civil Procedure Code by a peon of the Kendrapara munsiff's court. A party of 400 to 500 men attacked the decree-holder's men and assaulted the party on 18-4-22. The following extract from the judgement will clearly explain the situation created by the non-co-operators :-

"6. It appears to me that in this disturbed area within the Rajkanika estate, the tenants have made a combination not to pay rents to the Raj and to harass the officials and to assault the peons wherever possible and practicable. *They were misguided and misled by the fiery speeches and propaganda work of some non-co-operators, who were busily engaged from the distant part to work on the minds of the*

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ignorant, mass-holding out to them bright Utopian theories of Swaraj, liberty, non-payment of rent and taxes, etc.

"7. It was however fortunate that the accused have repented and realised their mistake. They have all pleaded guilty to the charge and have thrown themselves to the mercy of the court. It is for this reason that I deal with them rather leniently except Purnananda Jena who is the ring-leader of the mob and who broke Udayanath's hand."

The ring-leader was sentenced to R. I. for one year under Sec. 323 I.P.C. and for 6 months under Sec. 147 I. P. C. both sentences to run concurrently. 4 of the accused were on account of their old age let off with fine of Rs. 25/- each and the remaining 16 accused were sentenced to R. I. for 2 months each.

Two days after there was another case of rioting. It was an offshoot of the previous case which the Inspector of Police and his staff proceeded to investigate. While returning with 5 accused persons arrested by them, the inspector and his staff were attacked by a mob of about 2000 men armed with lathis who demanded rescue of the 5 arrested persons and after committing violence forcibly rescued them from police custody. A case U/147 I.P.C. was started against 67 persons of whom one absconded. The trying magistrate has the following in his judgement :-

"6. It appears to me that these illiterate and stupid people of the lowest class of society had been deliberately misguided by non-co-operators from outside, and incited to overt acts, which

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resulted in crimes against tranquility, law and order. The mob consisted of irresponsible and ignorant people who hardly had the understanding to realise the gravity of their offence".

Of the 66 persons under trial 13 were acquited as they were found to be either of very old or tender ages, weak, imbecile and idotic. Of the remaining 53, the ring-leader was sentenced to R. I. for 6 months, 4 to R. I. for 3 months each and the rest 48 to R. I. for one month each.

Next comes the Ayetan rioting case which occured 3 days after i.e. on 23-4-22. After getting intimation of the forcible rescue of the 5 persons arrested in the Pattarpur rioting case, the S. P. arrived on the spot on 22-4-22 and on the following day he with his staff proceeded towards Pattarpur to investigate into the two rioting cases. He was, on his way, obstructed by a party of 70 or 80 persons armed with lathis and other offensive weapons. The S. P. ordered the party to disperse but they did not. On the otherhand they proceeded to attack the police. The S.P. was then compelled to give orders for their arrest. When they were pursued, the mob began to disperse and some of them entered the house of one Bhagaban Suttar. The S.P. and some of his men followed them up to the courtyard of Bhagaban Sutar's house. There Bhagaban's brother Suryamani rushed out of a room with a sword in hand aiming a blow at the S.P. Fortunately one of the armed constables warded off to the attempted blow with his gun and saved the life of the S.P. Four persons were arrested and placed under trial under Sec. 148 and 326/571 I.P.C. The

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judgement contains the following remarks of the trying magistrate :-

"3. xxx They (the accused persons) all plead guilty to the charge under Sec. 148 I.P.C. framed against them and say that they were misled by non-co-operators. They express their sincere regret at what they have done and threw themselves unconditionally on the mercy of the court.

"4. As to the evidence for the prosecution I have already stated that it stands fully corroborated and unrebutted ; thus apart from the confession of the accused persons the evidence is sufficient to warrant a conviction in this case. The offence was a serious one and I believe the non-co-operators are indirectly responsible for it, as it was through their instrumentality, speeches, propaganda work, etc. that the poor innocent mass were goaded to acts of violence and lawlessness. In view of the fact that the accused have come to their senses and sincerely regret their action, I am rather inclined to deal with them leniently.

"5. I accordingly find all the accused guilty U/S 148 I.P.C. The action of Suryamani Suttar was highly reprehensive and I sentence him to underge R. I. for one year. The others acted as second fiddle to him and I sentence each of them to undergo R.I. for three months."

We now come to the last of these cases. While the S.P. and his staff were proceeding towards Pattarpur with the 4 persons arrested at Ayetan, they found people streaming towards them from all directions with lathies and other offensive weapons. naturally the S.P. grew

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anxious about the situation and changed his course. At different stages of the journey he and his men met with attacks from different sections of the mob. They tried their utmost to disperse the mob but to no effect. The mob instead of dispersing began to follow them. While the police were taking rest near a tank in mouza Joral, a disorderly mob consisting of about 1000 to 2000 men armed with lathies, etc. rushed towards them and demanded release of the 4 persons arrested at Ayetan. The mob held out threats of causing injury to the police and ultimately began throwing brickbats at them and brandishing their lathies and proceeded close to the police party with a determination to attack them. The S.P.'s reasoning with them had no effect. They were determined upon rescuing the accused persons by criminal force and violence. Repeated warnings were of no use. Buck shots were fired to scare away the mob but to no effect. The mob in all fury advanced towards the police for attacking them. Finding no alternative to cope with the situation and as delay would have endangered the lives of the S.P. and his force, he as compelled to give orders to the constable to fire balls and as one man in the front rank was hit and fell down, the mob dispersed in all directions. The police then chased the mob and arrested 6 persons. Ultimately a case U/s 147 was started against 33 persons of whom one absconded, of the remaining 32, 3 were acquitted, 3 were discharged with warning on account of their tender age, one was sentenced to R.I. for one year, one to six months, 6 to four months and 18 to three months each. The

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concluding paragraph of the judgement may well be quoted here :-

"In conclusion I should say something about the conduct of the police. I think it was all that could be desired. In spite of the very great provocation offered by the several mobs, the Superintendent of Police and his men exercised a great deal of forbearance. It was only when the S.P. found things were becoming very serious and if he delayed any longer by keeping on warning the mob (which up till then was useless) lives of not only himself but of his whole force would certainly have been endangered. The mob was gradually surrounding them. It was then only that he ordered the firing of ball (and that after buck shots had been fired with no effect). The firing was throughly justified in my opinion and that I am right I would just refer to accused petition filed before me on 23-5-22."

It is most fortunate that such as serious situation was controlled by such little loss of life.

There was also a case of assault upon a Choukidar and theft of his clothing on 23-4-22 when he was coming to the S.P. at Chalunia from Aul thana. This alone ought to give an idea of the defiant attitude of the people at the time. The accused was found guilty under Sec. 379 I.P.C. and sentenced to one months R. I.

In view of the account given above of all the cases judicially tried it is necessary to consider what this series of cases occurring within the space of a month or so can indicate. Certainly it reveals nothing but a spirit of perfect

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disorder and lawlessness which no civilised society or government should tolerate. It is rather curious that while there were so many cases of overt acts on the part of the tenants, there was absolutely none on the part of the estate employees. This no doubt reflects great credit upon the management. The judgements in all these cases clearly disclose that the disturbances were due to the activities of the non-co-operators and as mentioned above one of the principal non-co-operators who is now in jail, clearly admitted this in his written statement filed in court.

The newspapers forming the organs of the non-co-operation movement dwelt at considerable length upon the catch words of "Oppression" and "Abwabs" or illegal dues. *Although they repeatedly discussed these subjects for a long time they could never point out a single instance or oppression or abwab referred to by them in vague terms.* As a matter of fact receipts are duly granted for all colections made and it is therefore perfectly easy to point out if any such collection is illegal. For a long time they clamoured for an enquiry into the affairs here but of late they seem to have given up the idea perhaps after finding out their own mistake. The affairs here having been enquired into by the Superintendent of Police, S.D.O., Kendrapara, Collector of Cuttack, Deputy Inspector General of Police and the Commissioner of Orissa, and after there have been specific cases an judicial findings about the general situation, one naturally fails to see what earthly purpose would be served by the proposed inquiry. After a good deal of trouble and anxiety as well as

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a long period of unrest things are gradually coming back to their normal condition and the people have found out how grossly they were misled. Both the landlord and the tenants regret the unhappy situation brought about by the non-co-operators. For all intents and purposes both the landlord and the tenants should forget the unpleasent past and look forward to a bright future but it would certainly be a dangerous policy to reopen the matter by ranking up the past. The judicial findings disclose that the tenants alone are responsible for the situation brought about by themselves and as such they are certainly responsible for the consequence. There is no reason therefore why public energy, time and money should be spent in making an inquiry into the matter at this statge. The people as we find from the judicial findings, were not only defiant towards the Raj employees but also towards the government and their officials and in order to give security to the people and restore law and order. Government have sanctioned the establishment of a temporary police station for a period of six months from the current within the affected area.

Before concluding this note I think it necessary to say a few words in regard to the landlords as a class. Their position is a very peculiar one. They carry certain responsibilities towards the government as well as their tenantry. Since the non-co-operation movement has been started there has been disorder and lawlessness in almost every part of India. Though the movement is directed against the government, it is clear from the facts stated

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above as well as from experience gained elsewhere that the landlords are the first victims to such agitations. The people can very easily be set up against them by any one who professes to be the chapeon of their cause. They can be very easily led away by false hopes of imaginary gain. They can easily be roused by promises of substantial gain to them at the sacrifice of the landlord. For bare maintenance the landlord has to depend upon his tenants. His difficulties are insurmountable when his tenants withhold payment of rents. He is required to help government in the administration of the country and help the tenants in all their requirements, but he cannot help himself when under the influence of others his tenants rise against him. Practically he becomes powerless and cannot protect himself against a strong combination of his tenants. Surely such troubles are not confined to Kanika alone but have happened in other parts of the province or in other provinces. No landlord however considerate he may be, can escape this. It is therefore the clear duty of every landlord to stand for law and order and to assist the government in every way to maintain same. (Unfortunately the exhibits & references of this note were not found).

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Exhibit-Seven

Kanika Unrest

The public must have felt great curiosity to know something about the present unrest in Kanika. The management has been covered with all manner of reproaches by its stigmatiser. It has been branded as a despotic administration ever ready to enrich its treasury getting pickings off the bones of the poor tenantry. The calumniators have exhausted the vocabulary of condemnatory language to describe in pamphlets and broad sides the nature of Kanika administration and the long catena of wrongs under which the people labour. Articles in some vernacular newspapers have appeared from time to time vilifying covertly and at times overtly the management of Kanika. The authorities of Kanika did not think it worth their while to refute such articles and the contents of such pamphlets as they were written by irresponsible men. In private circles the theme of Kanika has been the subject of discussion among angry and bewildered critics. It is now time for an impartial observer to trace the history of Kanika unrest and present before the educated and intelligent public the whole affair in all its nakedness.

Kanika has improved much in every respect under its present generous, kind-hearted and enlightened proprietor who is ever ready to look to the interests of his people with parental solicitude. We challenge with all humility and boldness the educated people of Kanika to lay their hands on their hearts and say if Kanika has not seen better and more prosperous days

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and if there is no tangible evidence of a successful management under the auspices of its present proprietor. It was the non-co-operators that played a splendidly mischievous part in bringing about the present crisis by appealing to the heart of the ignorant and unlettered men that are naturally emotional and easily led away by specious arguments. The people were carried off their feet and swept away by the stump-speeches of stum-speakers that appeared during the non-co-operation regime. The rank and file among the non-co-operators that formed the propagandists held that Mahatma Gandhi was going to establish Swaraj. So the period was right as rain to establish Swaraj in Kanika. They filled the unthinking minds of the people with the idea that they could easily defy the authority of the Raja Bahadur and enjoy immunity from paying revenue etc. if they made a united stand with a bold front. To withhold the payment of rents as they thought it was very .heavy and unfair became first a convenient excuse with the people and it subsequently grew into an article of faith.

Some among the moneyed men in the estate who bore some personal grudge against individual officers of the estate wishing to feed fat their ancient grudge fomented the unrest. The people whose only hope is a bumper crop are perpetual debtors to money-lenders and men of the ledger and steelyard. These men exercise unbounded influence over their dumb and mute debtors. These influential men threatened their poor debtors to see them visited with all sorts of humiliation if they hesitated to stand by them

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in their endeavour to worry and worst the Raj officers and if possible to paralyse the administrative machinery.

Being advised by the non-co-operators these fomenter of unrest and disturbers of peace went the length of handicapping the legitimate work of the Raj officers. They instructed Palki-bearers not to carry Palki, the barbers not to shave the Raj officers, the washermen not to wash their clothings. The villagers who were faithful to the estate were bullied and intimidated by ruffians to break off their allegiance with the Raja Bahadur and not to serve him any longer. They wanted the villagers to give their seal to a document swearing not to pay rents. They intimidated the docile and peace-loving people into submission in order to swell their ranks. In this way the agitation gained in strength and volume and flowed with a tidal sweep over some 300 villages. The most forward among the people carried the terror of their vaunting speeches and brasstipped cudgels wherever they went. Every village had its clique and sent its members to the central meeting that sat every Saturday. They took the law into their own hands, convened frequent meetings to frame their own laws and proclaim their own ukases. Some played the role of Raja makers and others that of Rajas. The retainers of these imaginary Rajas hurled filthy taunts at the Raj officers. The Raj employees were driven out of the villages. The most faithful of them who inspite of the threatenings of the people entered the villages on duty were hotly chased by the shouting crowds who brandished their cudgels and hatchets and threatened to mangle their

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bodies if they had the audacity to enter their villages again. They cut down fruit-bearing trees, denuded the coco-trees of their fruits, dragged fish ponds and distributed the spoil among themselves. The police officers who were deputed to watch their movements were warned not to be within the hearing distance of their meetings.

The people hired hooligans and fuddle-caps to drub the Raj officers wherever they were found. All communications with Rajkanika were cut off. Rajkanika presented the sight of a besieged town. Once the misguided people dragged out of the Raja's cutchery in the muffasil some ten or eleven peons and left them rolling on the ground with mutilated hands, wrenched teeth, swellen backs and bruised keen-caps. On another occasion two or three peons of the estate were tied to trees and roundly belaboured. Yet the Raj officers would not resent these excesses of the people. An eye-witness whose evidence cannot in the least be doubted affirms with all solemnity that all the residents of Rajkanika had to spend three nights on tenter hooks of anxiety simply because the infuriated mob intended to raid the palace of the Raja and butcher mercilessly all the officers who happened not to be Kanika men. The people had once the laugh on their side by mobbing armed constables and taking away some notorious characters from their custody.

In this way the people were guilty of veiled treason against the government. So the authorities were determined to put down with a strong hand incitements to violence and organised

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lawlessness. The high-handedness and unbridled license of the people attained their crown and completion when a disorderly mob of some thousand men showered upon a posse of armed constables headed by high officials volleys of clods, brickbats and potsherds.

It will be no language of hyperbole to say that the Raja Bahadur never advised his officers to resort to the weapons of coercion. He strictly warned his officers against laying violent hands on his people. He even neglected to assert and protect his own rights. We have heard bitter ejaculations escaping his lips at the sight of the suicidal steps his people were adopting to dig the grave of their peace and prosperity. He has never passed any caustic remarks against the people. Raja Bahadur called together his disaffected tenants and advised them in a neat, little, impressive speech to lay before him all their substantial grievances and conscientious objections in the hope of having them remedied as far as practicable. He gave them a month's time to give their serious thoughts to such a grave question, but his advice fell flat on his people. He was and now is willing to redress the grievances of the people if any. This is in brief the disagreeable story of Kanika unrest. We now leave it to the public to judge which party is to be blamed—the Raja's party or the tenant's party.

(First published in "THE ORIYA". The only english weekly in Orissa, Vol. 5, No. 25, printed by V. Kar, the Utkal Sahitya Press, Cuttack, Thursday, June 1st, 1922, pp. 99-100.)

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Discussion and Comment

Regional study of the implementation of non-co-operation movement gives varied dimensions, therefore Sumit Sarkar[1] rightly says that the varied dimensions and contradictions of non-co-operation can best be appreciated, however, through regional and local studies and for that recent research is rapidly accumulating data, though many gaps still remain. To the missing gaps of the history of non-co-operation movemnt in India and pertinaciously in Orissa, the exhibits given above, are the records, collected from Kanika darbar records, which bring to consummation or completion.

The non-co-operation movement of congress party started from 1st August, 1920 and was suspended on 6th February 1922.[2] A meeting of the Congress Working Committee was held on 12th February to confirm the decision.[3] It was campaign of twenty months, which had constructive and destructive objects. Militant nationalism developed in this movement, outrages grew up, there were wholesale arrests, lawlessness and firing by police. Excesses through picketing and intimidation were used to force shop-keepers to close shops. In short, there were sporadic local outbursts. After the tragic event of Chauri-Chaura, on 5th February 1922, a small town in the district of Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh, Ghandhiji suspended the entire movement. In the words of R. C. Majumdar,[4] the movement served as a baptism of fire which initiated the people to a new faith and new hope, and inspired them with a new confidence in their power to fight for freedom.'

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Inspite of the suspension of the movement, agitational activities of the non-co-operation movement continued in Kanika area of Orissa, as known from the exhibits. The seven exhibits gives the details of the regional & local variations of non-co-operation movement in Orissa and its connected Kanika meli (1921-22). Now it is to be judged that to which party the people blame ?

Exhibit-1, is a note on a publication named "Dukhini Kanika". It shows how this writing is an emotional work and its charges are false. Exhibit-2, acquaints with the melis of past and present in Kanika area. Exhibit-3, is a note on non-co-operation propaganda in Kanika. Note on overt acts committed by the members of the meli in Kanika is given in Exhibit-4. This shows the lawlessness of people. Overt acts which led to militant attitude by the non-co-operators is found in Exhibit-5. Exhibit-6, has short account of the Kanika Raj and the relation between the landlord and the tenants in the past. Exhibit-7, consists of paper named, 'Kanika Unrest,' which was first published in the then only English Weekly in Orissa, "THE ORIYA", 1st June 1922, Vol. 5, No. 25, which was printed by V. Kar, the Utkal Sahitya Press, Cuttack, pp. 99-100. In this weekly, it is published in the heading "Communicated Kanika Unrest," and ends with these words : "This is in brief the disagreeable story of Kanika Unrest. We now leave it to the public to judge which party is to blamed - the Raja's party or the tenant's party."

It is to be observed that this "Kanika Unrest", paper was published just within two

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months after the firing of 23rd April 1922, in that estate. The expositions in the exhibits are direct informations, much before double standard writings of congress party people were done.

The exhibits prove that there was nothing called peasant's agrarian movement, in Kanika estate in 1921. Only after the infiltration of congress party's non-co-operation activities in 1921, all the strikes, hartals and demonstrations were started. In 1922 tenants of the Kanika Raj refused to pay abwabs and became militant, which led to unpleasant happening of police firing. Now, if anybody should be made responsible for *double standard informations, then ; it should be* pointed explicitly to Ananda Chandra Jena, for his book 'Dukhini Kanika' (Oriya) ; Gopabandhu Das, for his book 'Bandir Atma Katha' (Oriya) and to Harekrushna Mahtab, for his writings in 'Dasabarsara Orissa' and 'Sadhanar Pathe, both in Oriya, which are simply followed by all scholars, with the faith that the informations were authetic.

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Chapter - Four

CONGRESS PARTY ACTIVITIES AT KANIKA, DURING NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

Because of heavy rain in 1920, there was heavy flood in Kanika estate area and lot of river embankments were broken. Flood relief works were carried on by Kanika Raja. It is known from the diary of Kanika Raja that Gopabandhu Das arrived Rajkanika on 21st August 1920, to see the flood relief works carried on by the Raja. He saw the papers about relief. On 22nd August 1920, Gopabandhu Das was sent to see some distressed villages in Aul and on 23rd August Gopabandhu Das left via Aul.

Utkal Provincial Congress Committee was formed in 1920 and Gopabandhu Das was elected its President, Ekram Rasool its vice-president, Bhagirathi Mahapatra its secretary, Brajabandhu Das the joint secretary and five members. H. K. Mahtab was entrusted with congress work in Balasore district and Jadumani Mangaraj in Kendrapara sub-division of Cuttack district. In later years Mahtab and Mangaraj played key roles in moulding the turn of events of Kanika movement. But, it was Mangaraj more than Mahtab who became instrumental in

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the U. P. C.C. to resolve to participate in and streamline the movement there, though as per the government version in Bihar-Orissa Legislative Council it was the Cuttack D.C.C. which passed a resolution to participate in Kanika movement.[1]

To other persons on whom congress party's work was entrusted were Bhagirathi Mahapatra (Cuttack Sadar sub-division with headquarters at Alakasharma at Jagatsingpur), Rajkrishna Bose (Jajpur), Jagabandhu Singh and Krupasindhu Mishra (Puri district), Pandit Nilakantha Das (Sambalpur district), Pandit Godabarish Mishra (Singhbhum district) and Niranjan Patnaik (Ganjam district).[2]

The dawn of the year 1921 saw the beginning of the organised congress movement in Orissa, under the pioneering leadership of Gopabandhu Das.[3] Mahatma Gandhi reaches Cuttack by train on 23rd March 1921, accompanied by his wife Kasturba and youngest son Devdas. This visit of Gandhi gave a tremendous impetus to the non-co-operation movement in Orissa. That was the festive day of Dola purnima and Holi. From the Cuttack railway station, he was taken to the Swaraj ashram in a procession of thousands of people in which there were seventy-two kirtan (devotional singers) parties.[4]

From Cuttack, Gandhiji went to Bhadrak on 25th March. Next Gandhi went to Puri from Bhadrak. On the way to Puri, Mahatma Gandhi visited the Satyabadi School on 26th March 1921. On 27th March he addressed a large gathering in Saradhabali. From Puri, Gandhi went to Berhampur and then proceeded to

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Vijayawada to attend the meeting of A.I.C.C. on 31st March and 1st April 1921, which was attended by Gopabandhu Das. This meeting resolved that by the end of June 1921, the congress party would enroll one crore members, raise one crore rupees for the Tilak Swaraj fund and distribute twenty lakhs of Spinning wheels all over the country.[5]

The Orissa congress leaders laid stress on the establishment of National Schools, enrolment of congressmen and collection of subscription, for Tilak Swaraj fund. But Orissa could not contribute its share of the target fixed by the A.I.C.C. in its meeting held at Vijayawada. On 23rd July 1921, Gopabandhu Das wrote in the 'SAMAJ', that Orissa had not been able to contribute even one-fourth of its allotment in respect of enrollment of congressmen, raising of funds and distribution of spinning wheels as fixed by the A.I.C.C. at Vijayawada. By 30th June 1921 the U.P.C.C. had enrolled 39,000 congressmen, raised Rs. 21,000/- for the Tilak Swaraj fund and distributed 16,000 spinning wheels in Orissa.[6] But according to paper 'THE ASHA' dated 27.3.1922,[7] by the end of June 1921, according to nationalist sources, the membership of U.P.C.C. had reached 40,000 ; the collections for the Tilak Swaraj fund were of the tune of Rs. 22,000 and there were 16,000 Charkhas working under the party.[8]

While these functionings of congress party were going on, it is already known from the exhibits of Chapter-III that infiltration of congress party activities had already reached Kanika area from January 1921. Further on 15th June 1921, the Kanika Raja had already

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called an anti non-co-operation meeting and had formed a committee to combat the movement.

So, from early part of 1921, non-co-operation propaganda in Kanika estate area was continuing. As Kanika Raja was a follower and supporter of Madhusudan Das, he was pre-British, only because they wanted to create a homeland for the Oriyas. They believed that with British support, they will be able to form Orissa province and they did it atlast.

The speech of Kanika Raja, on 15th June 1921 at his Rajbati against non-co-operation was flashed in newspapers and magazines of that period and this meeting was looked upon by the non-co-operators as a challenge to them.

Ramdas Babaji of fire-brand, a passionate speaker with a vulgar tongue, entered Kanika on 2nd July 1921. He was 'an up-country youth who was brought up on charity by the feudatory chief of Athgarh.' He made exciting speeches in Oriya and 'being in the garb of a Sadhu, he commanded great influence over the masses.' There seems to be a lot of similarity between him and Baba Ramchandra, who operated in the Oudh area around this time.[9] A.C. Pradhan[10] rightly says that Ramdas Babaji, a native of the princely state of Tigiria was a revolutionary in the garb of a Sadhu.

Though Ramdas Babaji was an Oriya, Prafulla Das[11] considers him, as a congress worker from Uttar Pradesh, who was associated with congress work in Orissa. As, he was an Oriya, his Oriya speeches delivered at Gopalpur on 8-6-21, Dharamsala on 9-6-21, Dharamsala on 10-6-21, Kahama on 14-6-21, Dharamsala

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on 20-6-21, Cuttack on 21-6-21, Kendrapara on 25-6-21, Demal (Aul) on 15-8-21 and Kendrapara on 19-8-21 were translated by Ananda Chandra Pati, the Oriya translator of government, as found from Kanika Darbar Records and given in Appendix- IV. Ramdas Babaji had delivered many more speeches but they were not recorded.

In the speech, delivered at village Gopalpur on 8-6-21, Ramdas Babaji fooled the people, by speaking that he was a resident of Ajodhya (Oudh), even though he was an Oriya, who was brought upon charity by the Feudatory chief of Athgarh. It seems that to thrust more influence on the audience, he spoke like that. This shows the act of hypocrisy by a congress party man. He was definitely an Oriya individual, because his Oriya speeches are translated from Oriya to English by government translator, as mentioned.

Some of the translated speeches of Ramdas Babaji, which were found from Kanika Darbar Records are given in Appendix-IV. In the proceedings of non-co-operation meeting held at Demai (Aul) on 15-8-1921, Ramdas Babaji said, "Do not trust that sinful government by which the Raja of Kanika is being guided. We have endured the trouble, to which the Raja of Kanika out of fear of that Sarkar (government) has put us for one month and a half. We lay under trees without food for several days in rain and storm. For what purpose ? For the good of the world. 'Every drop of blood for the good of the world.' That Raja of Kanika is collecting many kinds of unjust taxes from his innocent tenants. By God's grace, many persons from his elaka (Killa) have become members."

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So, from the speech of a congress propagandist Ramdas Babaji on 15-8-21, collecting of many kinds of unjust taxes from his innocent tenants, by the Raja of Kanika, is known for the first time. This speech was given to influence people with congress party programme of non-co-operation and it is already seen ahead, how hypocritical and false news were propagated. So, the popular hubbub of unjust taxing of Kanika Raja, has its beginning from Ramdas Babaji's speech.

As known from Exhibit-3, of Chapter-III, Ramdas Babaji was arrested at Kantapara by the Inspector of Police, Kendrapara, on 28th September, 1921. Jadumani Mangaraj came from Aul and sankirtan was held. Jadumani Mangaraj addressed a meeting near the cutchery, the same day (vide Appendix-V, Chapter-II).

Jadumani Mangaraj[12] was entrusted the charge of supervising the congress work in Kendrapara sub-division of Cuttack district and from extract of his speech, delivered at Kantapara on 19-9-21 (vide : Appendix-V, i) it is known that his brother was in service of Kanika Raja. From the proceeding of the non-co-operation meeting held by Jadumani Mangaraj near cutchery on 28-9-21, the day of arrest of Ramdas Babaji, it is mentioned thus : "The consequence of this sin the Raja of Kanika must have to suffer one day. One day he shall have to atone for this. What shall he have to suffer from ? The School shall close, the cutchery shall be vacated. No tenant of Kanika shall pay rent." Even violent preacher Madhusudan Patnaik held a meeting at Rajkanika on 30th September 1921 (vide : Exhibit-3, Chapter-III).

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It is known from the above mentioned speechs that it is only congress party men like Ramdas Babaji, Jadumani Mangaraj and Madhusudan Patnaik, who excited and irritated the people of Kanika, about unjust taxes and non-payment of rent in Kanika area. This provoked Ananda Chandra Jena, who wrote "Dukhini Kanika" which first got published in 1922 and by January 1922, the congress party's influenced tenants of Kanika, refused to pay tax or land rent. Scholars[13] have said that the call of the congress for refusal of payment of taxes struck a very sensitive chord in the hearts of the exploited peasants. In Orissa, the tenants of the Kanika Raj, refused to pay abwabs.[14] Were the peasants of Kanika exploited by the Raja ? As seen above, it was congress party's propaganda to win the peasants, by addressing them as exploited peasants (vide : *The Star of Utkal*, 2nd July 1924, Appendix-II. The alleged illegal taxes in Kanika estate were not imposed illegally.

While writing on the topic 'Non-co-operation movement in Orissa,' Pritish Acharya[15] informs, A.I.C.C. meeting of 28-30 July 1921, at Bombay, adopted a more militant stance including boycott of foreign cloth and boycott of the coming visit of the Prince of Wales in November.[16]

"The U.P.C.C. was represented at this A.I.C.C. meeting by Bhagirathi Mahapatra, Niranjan Patnaik, Gopabandhu Das and Harekrushna Mahtab.[17] Picketing before liquor shops and foreign cloth shops constituted a significant form of non-co-operation in districts like Balasore, Cuttack and Puri. It was intensified after the above mentioned A.I.C.C. meeting.[18]"

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Inspite of the above opinion, it has been observed that non-co-operation activities in Kanika area were already in full vogue from early part of 1921 (vide : Exhibits 3, 4, & 5, Chapter-III).

In the words of A.C. Pradhan,[19] 'the propaganda of Ramdas had an electrifying effect on the people of Kanika. It marked the beginning of congress organization : an nationalist movement in Kanika. Being influenced by Ramdas Babaji's exciting speeches six students of Rajkanika High School left the school. Attempts were made to establish a national school. A Swaraj ashram was established at Kantapara, about half a mile away from Rajkanika. A Swaraj Jajna was held and a Swaraj flag was hoisted on a tree, named as Gandhibata. Non-co-operation songs and kirtans were sung for sometime. Ramdas Babaji was followed by other congress activities. Bhagirathi Mahapatra, the Secretary of Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee and his wife Sarala Devi, Jadumani Mangaraj, Dr. Ekram Rasool and Madhusudan Patnaik (the non-co-operator from the princely state of Tigiria) carried on their propaganda and activities in Kanika. Three local agitatiors Ananda Chandra Jena (a primary school teacher, who had been removed from his job, for his criticism to the zamindar), Joyram Rai (a teacher of the Rajkanika High School who was dismissed from his job for taking part in the non-co-operation movement) and Upendra Subudhiray (an employee of the Raja, who had resigned from his post for joining the non-co-operation movement) became active to organize the congress movement in Kanika. Arbitration sabhas and circle sabhas

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were formed and villagers were enrolled in the congress. In January 1922, mahasabha or supreme association was formed at Ayatan by Ananda Chandra Jena, Joyram Rai and Dinabandhu Khandaitray.'

For the non-co-operation movement, congress party[20] earnestly advised the following steps :-

(a) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies,

(b) refusal to attend government Levees, Durbars and other official and semi-official functions held by government officials, or in their honour,

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned aided, or controlled by government and in place of such schools and colleges in the various provinces,

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid, for the settlement of private disputes,

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves ascrecruits for service in Mesopotamia,

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidate for election to the refermed councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the congress advice, offer himself for election,

(g) boycott of foreign goods.

With the non-co-operation movement hundred of people renounced their titles and honours. Thousands of students left their instititions and participated in the struggle. The movement produced spectacular results, though it could not attain 'Swaraj' in one year as promised by

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Ghandhiji. Thus, the movement attempted to paralyse government by the withdrawal of Indian patriots from all associations with the political, economic and social institutions of British India." The government was puzzled and perplexed. They did not know how to handle such an embarrassing situation.[21] Under Gandhiji's inspiration the jail lost its terror and became a place of pilgrimage for the fighters of freedom. Thus began the epic struggle for freedom of a disarmed people against the entrenched might of British imperialism.[22]

After Jadumani Mangaraj's speech on 28-9-1921, there were sporadic local outbursts in Kanika. Detail happenings are recorded in Exhibits 2, 4 & 5 of Chapter-III, as found from Kanika Darbar Records.

It is known from Exhibit-5, of Chapter-III, that after Ramdas's arrest no public speeches were made but private propaganda from village to village and house to house were carried on and members enlisted and subscriptions in money and kind collected with a view to prepare the tract for mass civil disobedience.

It is known from the diaries of R. N. Bhanja Deo that the amlas of Kanika estate became excited because of fury speech of Jadumani Mangaraj and even the estate employees became over enthusiastic. In October 1921, Chakradhar Behera, Assistant Accountant of Manager's officer of Kanika Raja, openly joined the non-co-operation movement and absented himself from duty, owing to which he was suspended.

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It is known from a letter of Kanika Raja Sri R. N. Bhanja Deo to Mr. Kelso, dated Rajkanika 25-1-1923, discovered from Kanika Darbar Records that on the 28th of September 1921, non-co-operator Ramdas was arrested by the Cuttack police under Section 108. On the following day non-co-operator Chakradhar Behera of Panchmuka, then in the service of the Raj had the audacity to send a telegram to the S.D.O. Kendrapara protesting against Ramdas's arrest. Shorty after this he was dismissed when he openly joined the non-co-operation movement. Another employee named Gayadhar Samal of Panchmuka who also became a non-co-operator was dismissed from service. On 2nd January 1922, Chakradhar Behera organized meeting of tenants at Megha Nuagan.[23]

When the movement was going on, the working committee of Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee was re-constituted on 30th November 1921,[24] thus :

President	—	Gopabandhu Das.
Vice-President	—	Jagabandhu Singh.
Secretaries	—	Lingaraj Mishra & Bhagirathi Mahapatra.
Members	—	Dr. Ekram Rasool, H. K. Mahtab, Niranjan Patnaik, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nilakantha Das, Brajamohan Panda and Dr. Atal Behari Acharya.

The tenants of Kanika are always advertised or written as poor tenants, but it was from

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them, the congress party was collecting subscriptions in money, Tilak Swaraj fund and kind, and by December 1921, a very large number of tenants had enlisted themselves as congress members. village sabhas, weekly meetings, circle sabhas and a mahasabha were held by end of December 1921, and formation of a meli was decided. The tenants withheld Tuccavi loans which were to be repaid in December 1921.

In the words of A.C. Pradhan,[25] to carry on the agitation for no-payment of rent, a meli was organised for one hundred villages and 4,000 villagers were enrolled in it. The organizers of meli established a regular council with office-bearers at the village Meghpur.[26] Towards the end of 1921 a meeting of thousands of tenants from Chhamuka, Panchmuka and Kerada was held at Rajkanika. In that meeting Dinabandhu Khandaitray ; the Chhamuka tenant leader, Nidhi Tripathy ; the Panchmuka tenant leader, Biswanath Rout ; the kerada tenant leader urged the people not to pay rent at the enhanced rate.[27] As the tenants contemplated non-payment of rent at enhanced rates, the Raja obtained from the authorities the power of revenue collection through the certificate procedure in December 1921.

As already known, on 2nd January 1922, Chakradhar Behera organized a meeting of tenants at Megha Nuagaon. The next day the first meeting of tenants was held under the auspices of the congress at Ayatan. The meeting was addressed Madhusudan Patnaik, the congress activist from Tigiria and local tenant leaders such as Ananda Chandra Jena,

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Dinabandhu Khandiatray, Purnananda Rautray, Sadashiva Rasikray and Lambodar Mahapatra took active parts in this meeting. The meeting resolved not to pay rent at enhanced rate and Choukidari tax to the Raja of Kanika and the British authorities respectively.[28]

Biswamoy Pati[29] says that the organisation of the peasants was strengthened through the support of such persons as Ananda Chandra Jena and Joyram Rai. Both were teachers who had been dismissed from their jobs around this time. Jena was also a cultivator who paid a rent of Rs. 2 in a year ; he was the author of 'Dukhini Kanika'. Other activists included Upendra Subudhira (who was a potdar of the Raja, but had resigned to participate in the meli), Bisuni Madhual (who was a small cultivator and was a Khandayat by caste ; although he had a place of land, he also worked on the land of Dinabandhu Khandaitray, which suggests that he belonged to the less affluent section of the peasantry), and Basu Sethi (a landless person who pursued his caste profession of washerman). These people along with Madhusudan Patnaik (a U.P.C.C. worker) worked actively among the peasants, and were responsible for the formation of several sabhas in different centres. A larger number of peasants were enrolled as four-anna members, and came to be directly linked to these organisations.

"In such a state of affairs, the peasants of Kanika entered the most militant phase of their struggle which lasted from January to April 1922. Initially this phase was to converge with the non-co-operation movement, and the U.P.C.C. concentrated on linking the people of the estate

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to the all-India struggle, on the basis of the existing dispute between the Raja and the people. In January 1922, Joyram Rai and Madhusudan Patnaik organised a meeting at Ayetan hat against payment of the Chaukidari tax and the increase of taxes in 1914, imposed by the Superintendent of Kanika, Indramani Mohanty. A number of prominent persons like Sadananda Samantarai Mahapatra (village Badataila), Raghunath Samantarai (village Tarasa Mauza), Purnananda Rautray, Sadananda Rasikray (village Bartani) and Lambodhar Mahapatra (village Gobang) were invited to this meetings.

"Another meeting was organised by the U.P.C.C. at the Ayetan hat soon after this. It was perhaps here that the first call was given by the U.P.C.C. in the estate for the non-payment of rent and the Choukidari tax. It was also resolved that in case the authorities retaliated by auctioning off land and property of the people (because of their participation in the meli), no one would bid for them. To prevent further trouble at Ayetan section 144 was clamped in the estate, and six policemen were posted at Ayetan hat. Another meeting was held at Meghpur. These meetings instigated the people to become more militant. In places such as Jorela some individuals who had sided with the Raja were intimidated by Achutanand Naik and Srikar Mohanty.

"By the end of January 1922, gramya sabhas and circle sabhas had been set up at Ayetan. This effort was backed by Dinabandhu Khandaitray (who was a prominent figure during the 1906 meli). Very soon, about four thousand people of

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over a hundred villages combined to form a meli. A regular council with office-bearers was established at Meghpur, to co-ordinate the agitation, Although one cannot ignore the U.P.C.C.'s initial stimulus, these Sabhas were created (as observed by some of its workers) by the exploited peasants themselves. With this, the no-rent dimension of the non-co-operation movement came to be implemented by the peasants in practice. Since they came to believe that once Swaraj would be attained, no one would have to pay rent, it was logical for them to move closer to the U.P.C.C.." Thereby the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee victimised the people, by transmiting or spreading the saying that once Swaraj would be attained no one would have to pay rent. What a method, course of action, skill, dexterity, tactics, fraud and cleverness of congress party to fool Kanika people ?

As a single trend, as shown by H. K. Mahtab's writing 'Dasabarsara Orissa' and 'Sadhanar Pathe', both in Oriya, is continuing in the writings about Kanika meli 1921-22, by the scholars, the author Biswamoy Pati addresses the peasants as 'exploited peasants.'

On 22nd January 1922, Dinabandhu Khandaitray, Sadananda Rasikray, Purnanda Rautray, Kalpataru Choudhuri, Rangadhar Panda, Lambodar Mahapatra, Joyram Rai, Hari Samal and others nearly two thousand tenants, Chhamuka Kanika, sent a telegram to collector, Cuttack, (vide : Appendix-VI), by objecting the rent of new settlement, carried on by Kanika Raja. The same day, B. N. Roy, the collector intimated Kanika Raja with a copy of the

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telegram. On 25-1-1922, the Kanika Raja replied to the collector and one paragraph of that letter is worth quoting :-

"As regards the new settlement objected to by the people what is called 'new settlement' was made some six years ago. The rents were fixed by amicable settlement and paid all these six years without a single objection. Their objection to pay these rents after so many years is rather strange. Some of them offered payment of rents as they existed six years back, which was refused. On account of the present combination among the people of a portion of Elaka Chhamuka they have withheld payment of rents due this month. However the combination has been partly got over but those who have not paid up have been intimidating in various ways those who have paid up. I hope the people will gradually come round. If they do not, legal steps will be taken against them in due course."

This paragraph of Kanika Raja's letter definitely shows that his actions were within legal provisions and he had taken no unlegal steps.

During Feburary 1922, Jadumani Mangaraj and Madhusudan Patnaik, the two violent preachers of congress party visited Kanika again and helped the formation of the meli (vide : Exhibit-3, Chapter-III). From the month of February 1922 onwards over-acts were committed by the members of the meli in Kanika (vide : Exhibits 4 & 5, Chapter-III).

In this period of over-acts during February 1922, Harekrushna Mahtab, the then Secretary of District Congress Committee, Balasore,

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distributed two Oriya pamphlets written by him in Kanika area. One of these pamphlet is dated 25-2-1922 (vide : Appendix-VII). For this act H. K. Mahtab was imprisoned for one year.

After the tragic event of Chauri-Chaura on 5th February 1922, Ghandhiji suspended the entire movement on 6th February 1922. On 12th February 1922, the congress working committee of A.I.C.C. met at Bardoli in Gujarat, and passed a resolution to call off the non-co-operation movement.[30]

The dating of 25-2-22 on one of the pamphlet, distributed by H. K. Mahtab during February 1922, in Kanika area, shows that inspite of the suspension of non-co-operation movement by A.I.C.C. H. K. Mahtab went on agitating the mind of the people of Kanika area. In the words of Pritish Acharya,[31] Shri Hare-krushna Mahtab later recalled that Gandhiji's abrupt and unilateral decision to suspend the entire movement after Chouri-Chaura was deeply resented by almost all the prominent congress leaders and naturally even more by the younger people in the state. The U.P.C.C. officially called off the movement and instructed its workers in Kendrapara sub-division to expedite the payment of rent. But the official withdrawal of the movement had little impact on the total mass of non-co-operators. Their non-co-operation with the government continued upto mid,1922.'

A. C. Pradhan[32] informs that in February 1922 in response to a petition from 5,000 tenants of Kanika. B. N. Ray, the collector of Cuttack conducted an inquiry to ascertain to what extent the rents had actually been raised

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and whether the enhancement was justifiable. After inquiry the collector reported that in the Chhamuka area the rents had been raised in 1916 by an amicable arrangement with the principal tenants and that all taxes such as land rent, forest cess and pasturage due were reasonable and legally justifiable. The collector B. N. Ray tried to bring about an amicable settlement and advised the tenants "to pay into court such dues as were undispused and to leave the Raja to maintain in the courts the rights which he claimed and which they denied.[33]"

"At this stage the tenant's organization decided that those who wanted to pay rents could deposit their rents at the earlier (Savak) rates in the Kendrapara government treasury, but in any case they should not pay rents to the Raja. According to Lambodar Mahapatra's diary the tenants deposited Rs. 10,000/- at Savak rates in the Kendrapara government treasury.[34]"

Biswamoy Pati,[35] at this stage informs that it is striking that although in a meeting at Khurda around 10th February 1922, Gopabandhu had asked the two thousand people present there not to stop the payment of rents and jungle taxes (which was in line with the position taken by the U.P.C.C.), and the non-co-operation movement had been called off by the congress on 12th February 1922, and the U.P.C.C. instructed its workers in Kendrapara sub-division not to meddle with the Kanika affairs and to "...... expedite the payment..... (of rents)", the militant peasants continued their struggle. This reinforces the point already

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made that the present organisations were established due to pressures from below by the peasants themselves."

The author differs from Biswamoy Pati, because he calls the peasant organisations were established due to pressures from below by the peasants themselves. From the whole narrations, it is observed that the peasants of Kanika were instigated, invoked and bewildered by congress party activities and propaganda from the beginning or parley part of 1921 and therefore the whole movement was socio-political basically. Because of the effective steps of Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee and its non-co-operation movement role, peasant organisations had taken birth in interiors of Kanika estate. When non-co-operation movement was withdrawn, it is wrong to claim that the peasant organisations of Kanika were established due to pressures from below by the peasants themselves. Was is not the congress party man, Ramdas Babaji, who spread the non-co-operation movement in Aul and Kanika area ? Did he not say that Raja of Kanika is collecting many kinds of unjust taxes from his innocent tenants ? On 28-9-21, did not Jadumani Mangaraj transmit the message that no tenant of Kanika shall pay rent ? It is the great bluff and the double standard stand, which H. K. Mahtab did, in his writings 'Dasabarsara Orissa' and 'Sadhanar Pathe', has shown. It is unfortùnate that generally most scholars including Biswamoy Pati have followed H. K. Mahtab's track and therefore this wrong opinion.

The author took up intensive search of Kanika darbar records and has come across a

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letter of Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo, the Kanika Raja to Mr. Kelso, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, dated 25-1-1923, where full information regarding the activities of non-co-operators in Panchmuka (the Balasore district portion of Kanika estate) is given (vide Appendix VIII). It is a very long letter of more than 50 typed pages. The author quotes a portion of this letter, which proves that H. K. Mahtab was provoking the tenants of Panchmuka area of Kanika estate. It goes thus :-

"The people of Panchmuka were always in close touch with those of Chhamuka as well as the non-co-operators of Balasore and Bhadrak and the agitation carried on there was done in concurrence of both as will be seen from the following telegram of Harekrushna Mahtab, Secretary to Balasore District Congress Committee, who was the guiding spirit of the non-co-operators and the melia tenants of Panchmuka. On the 22nd February 1922, he sent the following telegram to Santha Behera a local non-co-operator :-

> 'Just starting Delhi, Congress meeting 24th, Attendance necessary. Cannot go. Shall go. Immediately returning. Sending volunteers. Observe non-violence. Care not suffering. Congress prohibits tax rent non-payment. Peacefully resist detrimental settlement. Violence undoes all. Shun un-necessary provocation. Non-violence absolutely necessary. Starting about 29th.'

The District Magistrate of Cuttack brought the above telegram particularly to the notice of the authorities of Balasore.

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"This telegram clearly shows the close connection of my tenants with the outside non-co-operators as instructions had been previously asked for regarding non-payment of rents and taxes, and the form of agitation they should make. Herekrushna Mahtab was asked to come down himself to carry on the agitation in Panchmuka but having failed to come, he wired his instructions according to the resolutions of the congress and suggested an agitation about the settlement and sent volunteers to execute his directions. About this time he issued a leaflet dated 5-2-22 headed "Kanika News", by making most vague allegations of oppressions etc. by my men without a single specific instance thereof and accusing me as one of the supporters of government, who had tried to oppose non-co-operation movement. This leaflet which was widely distributed by Santha Behera and other non-co-operators in Panchmuka greatly incited the people against me. A translation of the whole leaflet is annexed here to but I would like to quote the following therefrom :-

"xxxxxx The Kanika sarkar has thought that he would stop the waves of non-co-operation movement stretching out both his hands. This much should be remembered that the awakening of the people caused by non-co-operation movement will lower down the head, not to speak of Kanika, but even of Delhi sarkar. Now we are awakened. To remove that consciousness what sufferings they will inflict. But, it won't do to be impatient with them. Let the faint light of that awakening be kept up in our hearts, at last like a wild fire that light will grow furious.

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That laugh will serve as a guide to many countries xxxxxx."

This also is a clear evidence of the interest and incitement of non-co-operators regarding the meli in Kanika. On the face of these I cannot persuade myself to believe that the police were in absolute darkness about the non-co-operation movement in Panchmuka.

He issued another leaflet of a most seditious and inflamatory character addressed to the boys of the school. This was distributed in Rajkanika school by one Antaryami Palai of Panchmuka who also has been bound down under Sec. 107 Cr. P.C. A translation of the leaflet is annexed herete.

"Two other leaflets headed *'Swaraj Samachar (Swaraj News)' and 'Sarkaranka Damana niti o Santi Senara Abasyaka (Repressive policy of government and necessity of soldiers for peace)'* were issued by the aforesaid Harekrushna Mahtab and distributed in Panchmuka. Both leaflets were exhibited by my employees, Narayan Prasad Mahalick, Elaka officer of Ghanteswar and Natabar Samal Moheri of Motto cutchery in the Section 108 Cr. P.C. of Harekrushna Mahtab."

This extract, proves that H. K. Mahtab had issued the first pamphlet headed "KANIKA NEWS" on 5-2-1922, to be distributed in Panchmuka area. Accidently, this date happens to be the date in which the tragic event of Chauri-Chaura took place. The second pamphlet headed, 'TO THE STUDENTS' was issued on 25-2-22 and circulated in Panchmuka area of Kanika estate (vide Appendix-VII). The two

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other leaflets are lost and not to be found. This prove that even after the suspension of non-co-operation movement by congress party, H. K Mahtab continued his activities of agitating the people, by not obeying the party discipline.

During March and April months of 1922, lot of over-acts, plucking of fruits from Raja's garden, catching of fish from Raj tanks, burning of forest, cutting of trees and many unlawfull acts, including breaking of law and order took place in many places of Kanika estate (vide : Exhibits 3, 4 & 5 of Chapter-III).

A. C. Pradhan[36] rightly says that the suspension of the non-co-operation movement by the congress in February 1922, came as a blow to the Kanika agitation. The Kanika agitation had started as a result of direct and indirect inspiration and guidance from the Orissa congress leaders, and both Kanika tenant leaders as well as Orisssa congressmen had regarded the agitation against the Raja Kanika as a part of the nationalist movement.

From the two letters dated 26-3-1922 and 27-3-1922, discovered from Kanika Darbar Records, it is known that collection of second instalment of rents was continued on 28th, 29th and 30th March 1922 and for safely, Kanika Raj officials had intimated the sub-divisional officer, Kendrapara and the sub-Inspector of Police, Aul, so that there may be breach of peace (vide : Appendix-IX), because the people were still under the influence of the non-co-operators and had formed a combination against the Raj and withheld payment of rents and other dues. This is a clear proof, to prove

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that Kanika meli 1921-22 was not an agrarian movement, it was purely socio-political and the whole happening was given a different interpretation by H. K. Mahtab in his 'Dasabarsara Orissa' and 'Sadhanar Pathe,' Oriya writings.

The copies of telegrams given in Appendix-IX, shows the struggle between the administration, law keepers and law breakers. Therefore Prafulla Das's[37] comments, 'acme tyrant Rajendra Narayan', and 'too hard a nut to be easily broken or brow-beaten', and Biswamoy Pati's[38] remarks, "By April 1922, the Raja lost his patience' are one track and scornful statements, which are not to be relide upon, because they are comments without open-mind and not free from prejudice.

Inspite of the suspension of the non-co-operation movement, the tenants of Kanika continued their agitation in their own style being influenced by non-co-operators, took law into their own hands, which led to the unpleasant police firing on 23rd April 1922. Many were wounded and among those who died were Basu Sethi and Bisuni Madhual. The former was leading the people on the eventful day.[39] About the actual site of this happening Prafulla Das[40] states, 'in between the village Meghapur and Joral, on western bank of a tank named Bebarta Sarobar, thousands of Kanika tenants and the armed police faced each other.'

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Chapter - Five

ORISSA CONGRESS LEADERS CHANGED THEIR STAND ON KANIKA AFFAIRS AND DOUBLE STANDARD WRITINGS OF HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB EXPOSED

All India Congress Committee suspended the non-co-operation movement officially on 12th February 1922 and immediately the congress leaders of Orissa changed their stand on Kanika affairs.

A. C. Pradhan[1] narrates that the government thoroughly suppressed the tenants and took all possible steps to prevent the intervention of the congress leaders in the Kanika affairs. It may be noted here that after the suspension of the non-co-operation movement the Orissa congress leaders changed their stand on Kanika affairs. While earlier they had regarded the Kanika tenant's agitation against their Raja as a part of the non-co-operation movement, later they treated it as a local agrarian issue, a dispute between the Raja and his tenants, and criticized the oppression of the tenants. In the later stage, instead of taking side with the tenants, which the congressmen had earlier done, they wanted an impartial inquiry and an amicable settlement between the Raja and his tenants. The following extract from Gopabandhu Das's

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statement in SAMAJ, dated 20th May, 1922 shows the congressmen's stand on Kanika affairs at that time

"We are not parties to the quarrels and law suits between the Raja and his tenants. No dispute can be settled through the court decisions. A committee of inquiry may find out the truth but cann't bring about compromise between the Raja and tenants. Let bygones be bygones. We wish an amicable union between the Raja and his tenants." Obviously the congressmen disowned their earlier involvement in Kanika affairs. H. K. Mahtab[2] has assigned two reasons for this change of Orissa congress leader's policy on Kanika affairs, first, in 1920's the tenants' movement was not a part of the congress programme, secondly, in order to protect the people from governmental repression as a tactical move it was necessary to make it plain to all concerned that Kanika agitation was agrarian."

In front of the combined face presented in earlier chapters, the expression of H. K. Mahtab seems feign and concealing the true facts, because it is already known (vide Chapter-IV) that Cuttack District Congress Committee had passed a resolution to participate in Kanika movement and the speeches of congressmen shows that they invoked the people of Kanika and are solely responsible for the Kanika happenings.

After the police firing on 23rd April 1922, the government took measures to stop involvement of congress leaders in Kanika. In Cuttack and Bhadrak, Section 133 was clamped to prevent

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the holding of any meeting on Kanika affairs. On 14th May 1922, the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee held a meeting at Balasore, where a resolution moved by Gopabandhu Das was passed, demanding an impartial inquiry into the atrocities in Kanika.

On 16th May, 1922 Gopabandhu Das and Bhagirathi Mahapatra arrived at Bhadrak to attend the Balasore district conference. As soon as they got down from the train, Section 144 was served on them. Nevertheless, they hold a meeting within the compound of a mosque. Gopabandhu delivered a very appealing speech in the meeting. The meeting passed a resolution, moved by H. K. Mahatab condemning the Kanika firing.

After returning from Bhadrak, Gopabandhu wrote in the SAMAJ on 20th May 1922 that the meeting of the U.P.C.C. at Balasore had made it clear that the non-co-operation (non-co-operators) had no connection with the Kanika disturbance and that what the U.P.C.C. wanted, was an impertial inquiry into Kanika affairs. But as Gopabandhu and other congress leaders were soon arrested, it could not be possible for them to do anything on Kanika affairs. The Raja of Kanika field a number of defamation cases against Gopabandhu for his statement in the SAMAJ about the oppression in Kanika. A case was also filed against him by the government for his violation of Section 144 at Bhadrak. The District Magistrate of Cuttack issued a warrant of arrest to him under Section 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for the organization of Swaraj Volunteer Corps. Gopabandhu was arrested on 31st May 1922 at Puri.....

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"In the meantime other congress leaders Bhagirathi Mahapatra, Ekram Rasool, Atalbehari Acharya, Nilakantha Das, Jadumani Mangaraj, Gobinda Chandra Mishra, Ananta Mishra, Harekrushna Mahtab and Niranjan Patnaik were sentenced to imprisonment."[3]

According to Atul Chandra Pradhan,[4] it would be however correct to say that the Kanika tenants agitation derived inspiration from the non-co-operation movement and that it was also a part of the non-co-operation movement because of the Kanika Raja's loyalistic attitude as well as opposition to the non-co-operation movement. the involvement of provincial congress leaders and organization of congress movement in Kanika.

Because the scholars are influenced by the double standard writings of H. K. Mahtab, they are not free from prejudice. Now, it is therefore proper to peep into the two Oriya writings "Dasabarsara Orissa" and "Sadhanar Pathe" of H. K. Mahtab.

Harekrushna Mahtab had written a chapter named "Kanika oppression," in his Oriya book 'Dasabarsara Orissa',[5] which he wrote while in jail within 1930-31 and narrates thus :-

"If Kanika oppression is described in detail, it will form a full book. As it is related with the average life of Orissa, a short description of it is given."

Some portion of Kanika zamindari is located in Cuttack district while other part is situated in Baleswar district. Cuttack district portion is

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known as Chhamuka and Baleswar district part is known as Panchmuka. This is a very old zamindari with its historicity. During the early penetration of english dominion, Kanika had resisted, if not Kanika would had been a Feudatory state. Before the non-co-operation movement, Kanika Raja had earned name as country's patron. He was encourager of Utkal Sammelani and was the right hand of Madhubabu. In 1921, it was proposed that private settlement will be done. The people of Kanika estate objected to it, with the fear that with the settlement, there will be rise of tax. Because of the activities of non-co-operation movement, the people had become conscious. Tussle went on, whether there will be Raja's private settlement or govt.'s settlement. The people wanted government settlement to be done. When the people went to pay their taxes, it was refused. Therfore some people deposited their tax payment at Kendrapara treasary. Anyway, this trouble between the Raja and the people was picturerised as a Praja Andolana instigated by the non-co-operators of congress party. For its suppression, police and govt. took steps. As Cuttack collector B. N. Ray knew the real situation, he was transferred. To suppress the people of Kanika, armed police from Cuttack were sent. The improper conduct and ill treatment of them were so much that describing them becomes sensational. Houses were looted. People became deprived of their cash, jewellery and inhumanly beaten. Women were molested in their house. In one house, the male person was tied and his wife was raped in front of him. One pregnant woman fled to the jungle, where she gave birth to a child, which was devoured

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by the jackals and dogs. Properties of twenty lakhs were looted. When the people were going to complain to the police, instead they were fired and three people were gunned down. About 150 persons were arrested. Chhamuka area is very close to Kendrapara and their cases should had been heard there. They were handcuffed, tied in rope and marched through Chandbali (Panchmuka area), Bhadrak and brought to Cuttack. They were again taken to Kendrapara. Instead of being tried at Kendrapara, the cases were heard at Rajkanika, because the judges stayed at the palace of Rajkanika. Without any lawyer or advocate these cases were tried and the people were fined and jailed. The author happened to see them and was at Cuttack jail with them for one month.

Many well-to-do persons of Kanika were driven out, rich persons having lands yielding 300 manas, 400 manas and 3,000 manas were reduced to poverty and are strolling as beggars. Among these Sri Dinabandhu Khandaitray, Sri Jayram Rai, Sri Aswini Kumar Palai and Sri Ananda Chandra Jena may be mentioned. When there was such situation at Kanika, notice of Section 144 was served at Cuttack and Bhadrak, so that nobody can held any meeting concerning Kanika affairs. Dr. Atalbehari Acharya personally visited Kanika togather informations about the atrocities and revealed them, therefore he was jailed for one year. Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Bhagirathi Mahapatra and many were jailed because they had soft corner for the people of Kanika. When Pandit Gopabandhu was arrested, he said that Kanika affair is the only cause for his arrest. During that time Kanika Raja and

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British government had become one. Any complain against Kanika Raja was regarded as assult to government. When such Tandava dance was going on in Cuttack district portion of Kanika, the Baleswar district portion i.e. Panchmuka was undisturbed and it could be possible, because of Hudson Sahib. Still then, the sub-divisional officer of Bhadrak had arrested Sri Chakradhar Behera and few others by promulgating Section 107, but they were released by the Highcourt. The Highcourt had declared that Kanika disturbance was not against the government, it was in between the zamindar and the people. During that period the sub-divisional officer of Bhadrak tried the case of a sixty-year old man at Ghanteswar in the court of Kanika Raja, situated twenty-five miles away from the court & jail of Bhadrak and imprisoned him.

One is surprised to remember the past happening of those days. If any individual used to protest against Kanika Raja, Section 124 used to be immediately implemented. Kanika atrocities and sixty-four illegal taxes are described in "Dukhini Kanika" and therefore this book was banded by government.

Within these few years the administration of Orissa was continued in this manner. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, few persons had progressed within these suppressions.

"Highcourt had given judgement that there is nothing against the government. Samanta Bhagabat Prasad Mahapatra, the member, Legislative Council of Bhadrak, raised the Kanika atrocities issue in Bihar and Orissa

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Legislative Council and thereby government changed its policy gradually. But, those who did all illegal atrocities were never punished and no inquiry was done."

Harekrushna Mahtab in his writing 'Sadhanar Pathe' (Autobiography), had dealt of Kanika rising 1922. After independence and formation of Indian republic, state committee for compilation of history of the freedom movement done in 1957. History of the freedom movement in Orissa was published in four volumes, edited by H. K. Mahtab. These are regarded as the first exhaustive treatise on the history of freedom movement in Orissa. In the third volume[6] of this series, Kanika rising is illustrated, which is english translation of "Sadhanar-Pathe," which goes thus :-

KANIKA RISING-1922

Towards the end of the fire panic there was another uprising in the Kanika zamindari.

The zamindari of Kanika is situated partly in the Cuttack district and partly in the Balasore district, which are locally known as Chhamuka and Panchmuka respectively. The then Raja of Kanika had imposed as many as 64 abwabs upon the tenants which had practically broken their backbone. Before this in 1920, the Raja had already got authority from government, in the face of the recommendation of the Collector of Cuttack to the contrary, to make his own arrangements to check scarcity in his own zamindari. On the strength of this, he purchased out all stock or paddy from the paddy holders of his estate and shortly after

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began to sell that away to needy tenants at much higher rate. So neither the paddy holders nor the needy tenants could really get any relief and there grew discontentment. On a previous occasion people would have kept quiet in such a case but the non-co-operation movement had already become an eye opener and people did not like to tolerate this silently. About this time the zamindar had also proposed to raise the rent by a compromise agreement with the tenants. But the tenants who were already discontented did not agree to this but wanted a settlement through government. The estate did not agree to accept rent unless paid at the higher rate proposed, which the tenants too did not agree to pay and many of them therefore deposited their rents at the existing rate in the Kendrapara government sub-treasury under provisions of the tenancy law. In order to check the tenants the Raja adopted various means to prove that this was nothing but the work of the non-co-operators. Thus once about this time while the Raja was staying at Patna as a guest in government house a wire reached him there, obviously, a manipulated one, on the allegation that tenants in thousands were approaching Kanika to loot the Raja's palace. Various similar stratagems were taken recourse to by the estate to give a political colour to the simple movement of the tenants in the eyes of the government and to shew that the tenants had really revolted against the landlord and were out to oppress the local section of their co-tenants. Government too was moved in this and various ways both legal and illegal, were adopted to check this pure agrarian movement in the name of controlling a political agitation.

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"All these had started in Chhamuka area that is Cuttack section of the Kanika zamindari. The Divisional Commissioner then visited that side to look to the things on the spot himself. People in their hundreds approached the commissioner to ·ventilate their grievance before him. However matters were so manoeuvred that the commissioner understood that the tenants were really coming to attack him. So immediately armed police had to requisitioned from Cuttack. Firing also proceeded ending in the death of two unfortunate tenants who had been hit on their back. Still nobody from government side tried to understand the real situation. On the otherhand merciless oppression went on indiscriminately and good many tenants of substance became street beggers. However while all this was happening in the Cuttack area of the Kanika zamindari in Panchmuka that is the Balasore side of the zamindari everything was practically calm and quiet which was mainly due to the intelligent and conscientious handling of the situation by Mr. Hudson the then S. P. of Balasore. On one occasion during this period Mr. Hudson asked Sri Mahtab to promise not to enter Panchmuka area and in that case he on his part would see that there was no trouble there. He further said that it was only due to those leaders having co-operated and contacted with the tenants that the zamindar having co-operated and contacted with the tenants that the zamindar was really getting the latches to make out a case of rising and sedition against the tenants and ultimately to oppress them. So he stated that he would be helpless if the leaders joined hands with the tenants at that stage since although he knew

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fully well that the landlord was really to blame, this could not be checked as the latter had very much influence in higher circles.

Accordingly no congress worker went to Panchmuka and Mr. Hudson, the Irishman, S. P. of Balasore, true to his word kept the area practically calm.

"In the Chhamuka area (Cuttak-Kanika) police oppression and firing was indeed a regular feature and ultimately there were as may as 150 arrests of alleged ring-leaders of the rising. In the trial too no opportunity was given to the accused persons to defend their cases and thus the case ended in conviction. Matter did not end there. But this 150 men with hand-cuffs on and stout ropes around their waist were taken from Chhamuka to Chandbali, thence to Bhadrak via. Panchmuka area, obviously to creat a public impression in these areas and then brought to Cuttack.

In another case the S.D.O. of Bhadrak had passed whipping orders against a 70 years old Kanika tenant and the poor accused had to be taken to the zamindar's cutchery at Ghateswar, 32 miles from Bhadrak, simply for the execution of the flogging order obviously to creat an impression amongst the tenants of the estate there.

Fortunately in another case of Panchmuka about half a dozen tenants were convicted U/ S. 107 Cr. P.C. and they fought the case upto the High Court. Finally the High Court acquitted them holding that these were purely cases of agrarian unrest without the least political tinge in them.

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About that time Sec. 144 had been promulgated prohibiting outsiders from entering into any part of Kanika and it was Sri Lakshminarayan Sahu who alone could get into Kanika and publish some facts about the occurrences there.

The sub-divisional Magistrate, Bhadrak had also promulgated an Order U/S. 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting people from holding any public meetings at Bhadrak regarding Kanika affairs. A conference has already been fixed at Bhadrak under the presidentship of Sri Gopabandhu Das. But Gopabandhu Das and Bhagirathi Mahapatra came to Bhadrak for the purpose. However with much difficulty and with the permission of Mr. Hudson the S. P. of Balasore who had incidentally come to Bhadrak that day the conference was held in a closed area within the compound of the local mosque. Still ultimately both Das and Mahapatra were arrested in this connection, tried at Balasore, convicted and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment each. After conviction while they were being taken to jail in the open street they too had been with hand-cuffs on and rope around their waist.

At Cuttack also Dr. Ekram Rasool and other congressmen were arrested and Gopabandhu Das and Bhagirathi Mahapatra too were again haulded up there in another case as leaders of an unlawful movement. One pathetic but funny incident of this case was that on one occasion during the fire panic at Cuttack town people of an area had very severely assaulted a police constable so much so that his entire body was profusely bleeding, his uniform badly torn and

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he had become senseless. When Gopabandhu Das saw the constable he took pity on him, got him removed to the Swaraj ashram where first aid was applied and when he regained sense something was given him to eat and a piece of cloth to change the torn and badly blood strained uniform. This piece of cloth was obviously a Khadar cloth as nothing else was available in the Swaraj ashram. This constable had however deposed in the trial against Gopabandhu that it was the latter who had so severely assulted him and had forced him to put on the Khadar cloth. Both Gopabandhu and Bhagirathi were sentenced to 2 years imprisonment each.

It appears the C.I.P. was closely watching every movement of the congress leaders. Unfortunately about this time Mahatma Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six months imprisonment. Congress workers of any importance were also everywhere being put to prison under some section of the law. So, it was only Pandit Malaviya who as an independent worker was then fearlessly protesting against all official oppressions.

Finding Gopabandhu in jail and none else in Orissa to lead Mahtab and Niranjan Patnaik then secretly decided a course between themselves and went up to Lucknow, where they met Malaviya Jee ; ventilated before him the affairs of Orissa, such as the incidents of Kanika, fire occurrences in different towns of Orissa, alleged India govt. secret circular and the like. Malaviya Jee after hearing them insisted on having a copy of the said secret official instruction alleged to have been issued by Govt.

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of India and instructed them to enter Kanika incognite and collect and intimate him all about the actual operations there. From Malaviya Jee they learnt that similar secret circulars had been issued in other provinces also but he was till then unable to find out its origin. He told them he was then thinking of collecting all the informations relating to different provinces and then making an agitation in England. On their request he agreed to enter Kanika once, even, if necessary, by violating Sec. 144 order. After receiving these instructions from Malaviya Jee and giving him all information required by him as to what address he (Malaviya Jee) should correspond, how he should proceed to Kanika and so on, they returned homeward. All these things were being manipulated very secretly. However, as soon as Mahtab got down from Cuttack station on his way back he was taken aback when one gentleman who met him there forth-with enquired of him as to when Malaviya Jee was coming to Orissa and was visiting Kanika.

Shortly after this Mahtab hauled up U/S. 108. Cr. P. S. at Balasore and was, as a routine matter convicted and in default of giving security was sentenced to one year R.I. on 18.2.22. Gopabandhu Das, Nilakantha Das and other congress leaders of Orissa were also then in jail.

Malaviya Jee after sometime when he did not hear anything from Orissa had written a letter here but then there were none to reply him and so he too could not come to Orissa."[7]

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The above english translations of the Oriya writings of H. K. Mahtab seems to be degrading Kanika Raja and blowing one's own trumpet. His activities are well recorded in the exhibits of Chapter-III.

In the extract from 'Sadhanar Pathe,'[8] it is further mentioned : "The Raja Bahadur of Kanika who had in those days identified himself with the British government and become a member of the executive council of the Bihar and Orissa government, was the worst oppressor in his zamindari. There was tremendous tenant-rising and terrible repression by the Raja and the police. Although this had no connection with the congress movement, but we had sympathy for the tenants. Because of my sympathy for the tenants movement and also of my activities for the congress. I was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in 1922. In those days rigorous imprisonment meant feetters and hand-cuffs for nonfulfiling the task of paddy husking in 'Dhenki' and wheat grinding in 'Chaki'. I had to undergo the punishment in Bhagalpur jail. .... Accordingly, we captured the district board of Balasore and I was elected the Chairman in 1924. The term was for three years, During this period I came in serious conflict with the Raja of Kanika who exercised all the official influence to crush me somehow. He even involved me in several litigations in which of course I came out successful. But I gained a strong foothold in the district which is still intact. ....To facilitate propaganda, I converted the weekly paper 'Prajatantra' into a daily. Prajatantra was shifted to Balasore from Cuttack in 1924, when

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I became the chairman of the district board. In 1933, the press was confiscated. Since the Prajatantra stopped publication, I did my best with the help of Sri Surendranath Das to make it a success. Balasore was considered second to Gujarat in salt movement. My wife, sister and others took part in the movement and were imprisioned for three to seven months. In this movement I was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, but along with others I was released earlier as a result of Gandhi-Irwin agreement. First I was given 'B' class treatment and lodged in the Hazaribag jail where Khan Abdul Gafar Khan and his brother and all the leaders of Bihar were lodged. In the afternoon Rajendra Babu and all of us were attending Ramayana reading by Samanta School of Bihar. But I did not stay in Hazaribag jail long. The Raja Bahadur of Kanika, then a member of executive council of Bihar and Orissa government visited the jail particularly the ward in which I was staying. On his return he reduced me to 'C' class prisoner and sent to Patna camp jail where hundreds of Satyagrahis were lodged. I made my life comfortable there."

The above mentioned double standard writings of H. K. Mahtab, has influenced the track of writers, who are writing on non-co-operation movement in Orissa and Kanika meli 1922, with wrong interpretations. This beaten path of course has to be changed with the fresh new discoveries, which are done in this work.

H. K. Mahtab wrongly describes about the Kanika firing spot and goes on to narrate that however while all this was happening in the Cuttack area of the Kanika zamindari in

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Panchmuka that is the Balasore side of the zamindari everything was practically clam and quiet which was mainly due to the intelligent and conscientious handling of the situation by Mr. Hudson the then S.P. of Balasore. On one occasion during this period Mr. Hudson asked Sri Mahtab to promise not to enter Panchmuka area and in that case he on his part would see that there was no trouble there. The letter of Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo to Mr. Kelso, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, dated 25-1-1923 (vide : Appendix-VIII), clearly proves that there were over-acts and trouble in Panchmuka area also. This clearly proves that the double-standard writings of H. K. Mahtab has mis-guided the people, about the real happenings.

Report on situation in Kanika, as submitted to the commissioner by S. K. Mahapatra, Superintendent of Police, Cuttack dated 16th September, 1923 (vide : Appendix-X), clearly proves the activities of forgery and activities of some trouble makers.

Double standard and hypocritical writings of H. K. Mahtab, concerning Kanika affairs was continued throughout his life. An instance may be dealth here. On 9th July 1984, in a letter to Prafulla Das, a great critic of Kanika Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo, H. K. Mahtab[9] had written, "In order to protect the people from government repression as a tactical move, it was necessary to make it plain to all concerned that Kanika agitation was agrarian."

This clearly proves that Kanika agitation was not an agrarian, peasant and tenant movement. This was purely socio-political. The great critic of Kanika Raja Sir Rajendra

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Narayan Bhanja Deo, Prafulla Das[10] clearly mentions that Dr. Mahtab's unequivocal admission that in order to protect the people from government repression as a tactical move, it was necessary to make it plain to all concerned that Kanika agitation was purely agrarian. This view is neither praise-worthy nor honest. Had it been so the 'profession of so-called tactical move' could have been corrected in the congress history, at least after the attainment of independence. Leaving the decision to the posterity whether or not congress is to be blamed or praised and rewarded or punished for their role in the Kanika peasant's movement of 1921-22 the following extracts are presented to the historians of tomorrow.

(i) "Kanika sarkar thinks that he will obstruct the waves of the non-co-operation movement by streaching out his hand, but it remembered that the awakening of the people caused by the non-co-operation movement will lower the head not only of the Kanika sarkar, but also of Delhi sarkar. Now we are awakened. Let the faint light of awakening be kept up in our hearts. Eventually it will spread like wildfire, grow furious and serve as a guidance to many countries."
(H. K. Mahtab in a leaflet published in 1922).

(ii) "The sinful oppresive government which has been ruling over India for 200 years has ruined us. Do not trust this sinful satanic government. The Raja of Kanika is a creature of this satanic government and he has been opposing and oppressing non-co-operation in various ways. If you are really Hindus and have got the blood of the Aryans, do not be deceived by the satanic government. They are swindlers."

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(The firebrand non-co-operator Babaji Ramdas in his deposition in Kanika case in S.D.O. court, Kendrapara, August 20, 1921).

(iii) And last but not the least, Madhusudan Patnaik who proclaimed in the voice of a 'defacto approver' before Mr. Van Grieken, the trying Magistrate at Kendrapara in 1922. "During may past experience of 18 months in the non-violent non-co-operation movement, I have come to the conclusion that the people of Orissa are not yet ripe to carry the sacred movement .... As regards Kanika, when the tenants had been paying their rents for the last six years and when they have suspended their rents this year it is clearly believed that the all India movement is solely responsible. While I was in charge of this part of India. I am responsible for breach of peace."

The activities of Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee and the double standard writings of Ananda Chandra Jena, Gopabandhu Das and Harekrushna Mahtab clearly shows that they are responsible for character assasination of Kanika Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, without whom, there would have been no creation of Orissa province (vide : Appendix-XI), and the development of popular hubbub.

The trend shown by Ananda Chandra Jena, Gopabandhu Das and H. K. Mahtab have been followed by most of scholars. Even K. M. Patra and Bandita Devi[11] have followed the same course, in their writing of "An Advanced History of Orissa (Modern period)." In a doctoral thesis, Purushottam Kar[12] has also adopted the same path of popular hubbub, therefore not free from prejudice.

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Chapter - Six

RIGHT HAND OF MADHUSUDAN DAS OR THE MAN BEHIND MADHUSUDAN DAS

(Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, as known from the correspondences of Madhusudan Das)

About Orissa's patriotic princes, Mayadhar Mansinha[1] comments that Orissa owes not a little to her Rajas, Maharajas and the fairly extensive tribe of landlords, big and small. Few indeed are the instances, in the long story of Orissa's royal dynasties or her aristocracy in general, of extortion of the peasantry or sadism or other disreputable practices covered by the notorious expression 'Oriental despotism.' On the otherhand, the story is rather of enlightenment, humanism, scholarly attainments and unstinted patronage of arts and letters. The way Orissa's government as well as feudal chiefs set up large land-endowed but rent-free settlements of Brahmins, called 'Sasans', so that intellectual culture might continue unhampered by the eternal worries of the pence, is indeed a unique example of social planning and should be taken seriously into account by the modern planners of the Indian Republic. Orissa offers few sordid stories of harem-cult or organised debauchery

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which are common in other asiatic countries. On the otherhand, dedication to the divine was the glory of Orissa's nobility. Emperors Kharavela of the 1st century B. C. and Kapilendra Deva of the 14th-15th centuries, who were great conquerors, builders and rulers of sprawling empires, were also men of God. An inscription of Kapilendra Deva on the walls of the temple of Jagannath states that he held his empire only as a trustee of Lord Jagannath. The contribution of Orissa's feudal houses to Oriya language might amaze any student of literature. Abhimanyu Samanta Simhara and Upendra Bhanja are household words all over the Oriya-speaking land for the way these aristocrats made their mother tongue rich and colourful, as others of the tribe enriched their native soil with wonderful specimens of architecture and sculpture.

"No story of Orissa's culture can be completed, therefore without pin-pointing how her Rajas and Maharajas have liberally contributed to the National life of the Oriya."

By mentioning this much Mansinha has dealt of Sir Basudeva Sudhaldeva of Bamra, Maharaja Sreerama Chandra Bhanja Deo of Mayurbhanj and Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati of Parlakhemandi only.

Rabinarayan Das[2] after dealing with the lives of many illustrious sons of Orissa, mentions that besides these Jagabandhu Singh, Radhacharan Panda, Kapileswar Nanda, Vidyabhusan, Mayadhar Mansinha, Bichhinda Charan Patnaik, Pandit Lingaraj Mishra, Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo and Sarangadhar Das

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have contributed much to the development of Orissa.

Among these, Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo was the Raja of Kanika, who furnished much towards the common end of Orissa province formation. His role in Utkal Union Conference (1903-1920 A. D.) is well documented, by two Bachelors of Arts.[3]

From youthhood R. N. Bhanja Deo had acquaintance of Madhusudan Das, as the famous first advocate of Orissa acted as his Gurdian, during his minorship. They had lot of correspondence, through letters. Some of these letters are now preserved as private records of Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo of Kanika in Orissa State Archives. Selected portions of few of these letters are dealt herewith thus

1. In a letter dated 28.10.1905.[4] addressed to R. N. Bhanja Deo, M. S. Das had written, "It is my ambition to see one of the Rajas of Orissa a public man. While here you took an interest in public meetings and you spoke very well on the few occasions you were on the platform. You are the only young man from whom our country can expect this honour. I beg of you to keep this always in view."

These lines shows the appreciation of the activities of Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo in public life, which he started from 1903 in formation of Utkal Union and the success of its meetings.

In this letter M. S. Das[5] further writes : "As regard your order for merry Christmas, I shall send you a pair best of the kind you saw but different. What you saw was designed when I

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was new to the art, but may experience suggests a better thing. Kindly let me know if they are meant for the Rani. Then I shall introduce my new ideas, if, for any one else I shall follow the old design."

In 1905 Madhusudan Das established the famous "UTKAL TANNERY". The above lines shows the closeness and acquaintance of Raja of Kanika with Utkal Tannery.

2. On 10th April 1909,[6] Madhusudan Das wrote to Raja of Kanika : "We have decided informally, as no formal meeting could be held, to borrow money under the powers left to the Managing Director to borrow money and to pay it off when payment are received from the share-holders. I saw what Joyram Babu told me this morning. I thought you had a talk with him on the subject. I shall require probably rupees seven thousand. I don't want you to buy more shares now. I want to see how the public receive their shares. Your co-operation I want to have as resource force. This amount I shall pay off as money comes in. I shall thank you to arrange to send me the money. I hope you are well. Kindly remember me to the Maharaja, tell the Raja of Nilgiri that I am still alive though on the decline of life."

This letter shows that R. N. Bhanja Deo of Kanika had brought shares and helped in starting "UTKAL TANNERY", and it was running not in profit. The Maharaja mentioned in the letter possibly means Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, because immediately M. S. Das writes of the Raja of Nilgiri.

3. In the letter dated 7th September 1910,[7] M. S. Das had written that he wants another Rs. 20,000 (Rupees twenty thousand).

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4. In letter dated 3.11.1909,[8] M. S. Das had mentioned that he wants a loan of another ten thousand rupees for the tennery.

5. Letter dated 8th April 1911[9] is of twenty pages. M. S. Das starts the letter thus : "I have received your most loving and wonderfully, I should say admirably generous letter in a registered cover. You are quite right in thinking that I love you as a friend and admire and value you as a nature of Orissa. My feelings towards you are the result of my observation of your character, your heart and your ambition of life. The oil painting which you so kindly accepted from me points my feelings towards you more than it points you. Relationship is with me—my opinion so valuable as friendship. A relation is the choice of nature, a friend is of a man's own choice. In the one case nature is responsible for the fruits of the tie—in the other case man himself is responsible for the tie. Necessarily the man who likes to take upon himself the responsibility of his actions values friendship more than the tie of blood relationship. I am such a man and I believe you are of the same stamp. I value succedingly your kind feelings towards me in having provided for me a legacy in your will. I never dreamt of such a thing. Though born in a rich family providence in his infinite wisdom, thought it good for me to land me in the loneliness of object indiquea. Providence made me tool in his hand to work out God's purpose. I am now coming to the close of my life's career and I see I am nearing the condition of helpless poverty. "Naked came I out my mother's womb and naked must I go. The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away blessed be the name of the Lord." These words of the Bible will be fulfilled in my case and I shall be happy to die in the consolation that they have been fulfilled.

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The tennery was started by me with the object of feeding poor mouths and I believe still it will do so. It is now feeding several hundred people but I believe it will feed the capitalist who is now being starved. His time of sharing in the profits will come in a year or two. The share of the capitalist in commerce is larger than those of workmen and the reason for this is his risk & spirit of enterprice. Capital pays according to the degree of risk in the investment. I thought that there was spirit of enterprise in Orissa to unable me to raise the money by a Joint Stock Company. There was my mistake and it was a serious mistake. Compassion, friendship and patriotism influenced you to come to my help or more properly to the help of my project. You are in the position of Nilakantha and I am responsible for it. I made the mistake and I must bear the consequcnces in the full share. "...." You must atleast be secured against any loss of the amount you have paid. "...." Besides I owe money to you on account of the tannery & as I wrote to you once I have debts due to others. "...." I want about forty thousand rupees. I am willing to do any service for you and in return for it I want the amount free of interest. "...." I shall acknowledge the debts in my will and Shoila shall—should sign the handnotes. I shall appoint you and Shoila as my encounters."

These lines of Madhusudan Das shows that Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo was the man behind him and his activities. The works of Madhusudan Das couldn't have materialised if Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo would not have been a supporting individual behind him. Madhusudan Das, popularly

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known as 'Kulabruddha,' was the moving spirit for about half a century in the political, economic and social life of Orissa. He proved himself more than a match to the British-both intellectually and in the practical sense. His life is a saga of patriotism and public service.[10]

The services of Madhusudan Das in Orissa, wouldn't had been fulfilled without Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo to support him. Therefore the works of the man behind Madhusudan Das, has to be recognised for the political, economic and social life of Orissa, in early part of twentieth century.

8. In the letter[11] dated 28th June 1911, Madhusudan Das writes about the health of the baby, (who is nobody, but Sailendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, the only son of R. N. Bhanja Deo). .... I rejoice to ace that you are enjoying in the company of friends. But are you not losing seghol of your mission to England ? You made a mistake in taking Shoila with you. She has gone simply to enjoy— a butterfly flight. I once suggested to her to go up for her examination, but she did not like any notice of my suggestion. You are forgetting in the responsibilities of your position, your duty to fallen Orissa. My dearest Rajendra, take to your studies, seriously and as you cannot come before November, you ought to pass some examination.

This letter of M. S. Das was addressed to R. N. Bhanja Deo, while he was in England and had joined the "Society of Lincoln's Inn,"[12] to pass law. R. N. Bhanja Deo didn't complete the full term of law. The letter suggests R. N. Bhanja Deo's intimacy and closeness with Shoilabala Das and Madhusudan Das's household.

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9. In a letter dated 19th July 1911,[13] Madhusudan Das writes, "Many thanks for all the trouble you are taking about the tennery." This line of the letter shows truely that R. N. Bhanja Deo was the man behind M. S. Das's all endeavours in life.

10. In the letter dated 9th August 1911[14], M. S. Das had written, "Many thanks for your letter and for all the trouble you have taken on account of tannery. *It is more your tannery than nine.*"

Extracts from these ten letters, shows the intimacy, close help and support which M. S. Das got from R. N. Bhanja Deo, the Raja of Kanika. In this contest, it will be interesting to know about "Utkal tannery".

In the words of Surendra Mohanty,[15] "In 1905 Madhusudan had established the Utkal tannery on modern lines on about 40 acres of land in the suburbs of Cuttack, in which he not only had invested a very considerable sum of money out of his own income but also had incurred large debts of finance its operations.

"The tannery made appreciable progress in manufacturing articles, leather boots, shoes and leather goods. Particularly the lizard skins of the Utkal tannery was in great demand in England and America.

"Though many public spirited persons of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa bought shares of this company, Madhusudan could not keep himself and the tannery above waters. An english company in Calcutta offered to buy the goodwill of the Utkal tannery for a consideration which also did not find favour with Madhusudan. In the meantime one of his influential creditors, who in the past had advanced him large loans,

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with the end in view of capturing the tannery, filed a suit in the law court for recovery of his loans. Other creditors followed suit.

"Though Madhusudan lived a frugal and austere life, he spent lavishly in entertaining persons belonging to all walks of life, beginning from Lt. Governors to students and the political elites. Never did a distinguished visitor from outside Orissa, leave Cuttack without being properly hosted by Madhusudan. The activities of the Utkal Sammilani, the Prajapratinidhi Sabha and other such organisations which Madhusudan had sponsored could only be sustained through his unstinted financial support. On top of all these, he had suffered heavy loss and incurred liabilities on account of the Utkal tannery. His fabulous practice in the law courts had suffered heavily in the meantime on account of his political and official pre-occupations in Patna, as a minister. Had he continued as a minister, drawing a salary of Rs. 5,000 per month, he could not only have improved his financial status, but also averted the crisis. But he had resigned from the ministry on the issue of an honorary L.S.G. minister.

"As the creditors mounted their claims for recovery of loans, Madhusudan had no other alternative, but to apply for being "adjudged as insolvent." In his insolvency petition, Madhusudan had stated.... "Your petitioner has suffered loss and incurred liabilities to the extent of Rs. 1,80,000 approximately, which he was unable to pay." In due course Madhusudan was adjudged insolvent, and his Utkal tannery, residential house, a well-filled library and

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other personal properties went under the auctioneer's hammer."

Late Shoilabala Das[16] had mentioned that there was nobody in Orissa to buy his beautiful library. In the absence of a buyer it was going for Rs. 3,000/- which the Raja Sahib of Kanika offered to the court, but Sudhanshubala with the Raja's permission offered a hundred rupees more and got the sanction of the court to buy the library which she did with the view that this great man, if he ever practised again to earn his daily bread, must stand in need of a library. In weal or woe, the master minds in the library would be his best friends.

Actual amount of money invested in helping the starting and running of Utkal tannery, by Raja of Kanika is unknown, because the detail papers of Utkal tannery has not survived. But, this much is known from the extracts of the letters dealt that Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo had invested large amount in shares for Utkal tannery establishment and M. S. Das used to ask him for financial help, whenever required. Not only in this industry, but even in political field, for the struggle for Oriya's Orissa province formation, the Raja of Kanika had an important or great role and was a tower of Oriya nationalism in making of Orissa, a new province, with whom Kulabrudha Madhusudan Das was functioning for the purpose and aim of his life. So, it can definitely be said that Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo was the right hand of Madhusudan Das or the man behind Madhusudan Das.

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Acc. No. 2957 PUR, are the receipts of LINCOLN'S INN of Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo, which prove that he had joined the INN, preserved in Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, as the private records of R. N. Bhanja Deo of Kanika.

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Chapter - Seven

WITHOUT RAJA SIR RAJENDRA NARAYAN BHANJA DEO, RAJA OF KANIKA, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO ORISSA PROVINCE

Introduction

History sometimes, due to unavailability of accounts, does not recognise or has neglected highlighting the role of many stalwarts, who took active part in national movement of Orissa, for the creation of Orissa province. One of such resolute person was Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika.

Inspite of giving full details of the formation of the province of Orissa and stating the pioneer works of Raja Sir R. N Bhanja Deo of Kanika, historians & scholars only write about the Kanika disturbance of 1921-1922.[1] Purushottam Kar[2] states that the Raja of Kanika R. N. Bhanja Deo, there is no doubt in it, played an important role in the formation of Orissa province, but his repressive measures to put down the Krishak Andolana cann't be defended.

Even Biswamoy Pati[3] has written Oriya serial named "Orissa-ra-Kanika-Andolana," published in Sunday issues of Oriya daily newspaper 'Samaj'. These attacks on Raja Sir

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R. N. Bhanja Deo, only shows the ignorance of these scholars, on the actual happening of Kanika disturbance.

Scholars interested in the topic "National movement in Orissa," should consult the speeches on the Kanika disturbances in the Legislative Council of Bihar & Orissa, dated 25th August, 1922.

No historian, while dealing about Oriya nationalism can set aside the part played by Kanika Raja. P. K. Mishra,[4] S. C. Patra[5] and N. Mohanty[6] have well dealt of him, in their works, still then ; an abridgment of his life is required for animation.

Short life of Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo, Kt. O.B.E., M.R.S., F.R.A.S.

R. N. Bhanja Deo[7] was born in 24th March 1881, as the second son of Raja Jadunath Deo of Killa, Aul. In 1896 he was adopted into the Kanika Raj family by widow Rani Krushna Priya Patmahadei of Raja Padmanabh Bhanja Deo of Killa Kanika.

As, he was minor during adoption the Court-of-Wards assumed charge of Kanika estate till 25th March, 1902, when he attained majority. The Court-of-Wards had made suitable arrangements to give him liberal education. He was educated at the Ravenshaw Collegiate School and Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, Madhusudan Das was his guardian.

In 1899, R. N. Bhanja Deo married the daughter of Ladu Kishore Mandhata, Ruling Chief of Nayagarh state. He had one son and

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Heir, Tikayet Sailendra Narayan Bhanja Deo and one daughter Kanakalata Devi.[8] He was the 35th successor of the Bhanja lineage of the Raj family of Kanika.

R. N. Bhanja Deo started his public life, in the formation of Orissa province, since 1903. In the first session of Utkal Union Conference, held in 1903, he was the Chairman of the reception committee and Madhusudan Das was Secretary.[9] Before the first 'Utkal Union Sammilani,' took place on 30th and 31st December 1903, preparation by the enthusiasts was taking place. One ordinary meeting on 25.10.1903 and eight meetings of the reception committee were held on 15.11.1903, 22.11.1903, 6.12.1903, 10.12.1903, 16.12.1903, 20.12.1903, 21.12.1903 and 24.12.1903, either at the residence of Madhusudan Das or in the Kanika Rajbati at Cuttack.[10]

As far back as 1906, R. N. Bhanja Deo[11] presided over the Utkal Union Conference. The role of R. N. Bhanja Deo, in the formation of the state of Orissa, was of pioneer nature. While informing about Utkal Union Conference, Advocate C. M. Acharyya[12] mentions, "It was a long standing grievance of the Oriya nation that inspite of their social unity, they were placed under separate administrations in Bengal, Madras, Central provinces and Bihar, the political separation quite naturally slackened the social tie and it ultimately hampered the national growth. In 1876 without any tangible result, two prominent Oriyas-late Raja Baikunthanath De Bahadur and late Babu Bichitrananda Patnaik memorialised the Govt. of India for unification of all scattered Oriya-

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speaking tracts. It was to obtain redress of their national grievance by constitutional measures that in 1903 the Utkal Union Conference was started under the able guidance of late Mr. Madhusudan Das, C.I.E., the first and the foremost Oriya leader, who in 1921, had the honour of being appointed a minister of the Govt. of Bihar and Orissa. The first sitting was held at Cuttack in December, 1903 under the presidentship of late Maharaja Sree Ramchandra Bhanja Deo of Mourbhanj. Raja Bahadur Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Kt., O.B.E., of Kanika who subsequently became an executive councillor of the Govt. of Bihar and Orissa was the Chairman of the reception committee. In 1906, Raja Bahadur of Kanika presided over the national conference at Berhampore in the district of Ganjam ; his activities of the national cause since 1903 and during the days of Simon commission, fully justified the confidence which the nation resposed in him ; he was a member of the sub-committee formed by the Simon commission, especially to report on the question of the separate Oriya province. Though owing to his appointment as a member of the executive council, could not sign the report, *the idea of a separate province for Orissa really orginated with him and as a member of the government, he associated himself at every stage of the consideration of the question.*"

In 1907, R. N. Bhanja Deo visited England and travelled in other parts of Europe. In 1910, he visited England again, joining Lincoln's Inn, and in 1911 he attended the coronotion ceremony of their imperial majesties at West

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Minister Abbey, in London. On his return to India, in December in the same year, he attended the Imperial Coronation Darbar at Delhi[13].

J. K. Choudhury[14] narrates about R. N. Bhanja Deo that neither were his versatility and varied knowledge of men and things long unrecognised in government circles, and his appointment in 1908 as a member of the Bengal Advisory Fishery Board by the Bengal govt. must be considered a tribute to his expert knowledge of a subject which is beyond the keen of most public men of our day and country.

On July 1912, a meeting was held at Cuttack under the presidentship of the Raja of Kanika. It was decided to give a memorial to the viceroy and to the Governor of Bihar and Orissa praying for the necessity of separate representation in the imperial council from Oriyas of influence and position in Orissa in order to draw the notice of the imperial government to the interests of the Oriyas, living as minorities in different provinces.[15]

J. K. Choudhury[16] further says, "His wide knowledge of constitutional theory and practice has been an invaluable asset to his countrymen, fitting him to serve on or co-operate with committees and commissions which have from time to time been appointed by the British government in connection with the launching of new constitutional experiments on the Indian soil. In 1918, he co-operated with the South Borough Parliamentary Committee as a co-opted member and representative of the Bihar and Orissa province on the question of the

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division of functions between the central and provincial governments and between the executive councillors and ministers. In 1928 he was selected member from the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council to serve as a co-opted member of the Simon commission.

.He early interested himself in the educational problems of his country and brought to bear on them an unexampled earnestness and application, a rich educational experience, nature judgement and wisdom. In 1913, he served as a member of the Patna University committee and had thus a hand in shaping the policy and constitution of that university as its inception. In 1917 he was nominated fellow of the Patna University for a period of two years from October 1, 1917 to September 30, 1919. The work that he then, put is as a nominated member, only paved the way for his election in October 1919, by the suffrage of a highly educated constituency of the senate of the Patna University, the supreme academic council of his province, and enabled him to take part in its deliberations till November, 1922.

On January 18, 1929, he was appointed a member of the executive council of H. E. The Governor of Bihar and Orissa for a period of five years from that date. He has been the Vice-President of the said council since December 3, 1931.

"In consideration of the position and prestige of his family among the ancient aristocratic houses in the province, of his manifold public activities and the valuable help he rendered from time to time to the government in matters

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of legislation and administration. His Majesty's Government showered some of their choicest honours on him. The title (personal) of "RAJA", was conferred on him in 1910, only to be made hereditary in 1919. He was decorated with the title of O.B.E. in 1918 for assisting the government with men and money during the last great war. He was knighted in 1933."

Somerset Playne and J. W. Bond[17] inform that Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo has always taken an active part in all matters before the council, especially those relating to the interest of his constituents. The most important measure affecting their interests, before both the Bengal and the Bihar and Orissa provincial councils, during his terms of office was the Orissa tenancy bill. He vigorously opposed the passing of the measure, doing his best to protect the interest of the landlords, and although the bill was eventually passed into law, he was no doubt able to secure certain rights and privileges for them.

The Raja has always taken a lively interest in every matter of public concern. He is president of the Orissa Landholders's Association and one of the vice-presidents of the Bengal and Bihar Landholders's Associations. He is also a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

"The Raja signalized the assumption of management of his estate from the Court-of-Wards by providing the handsome "Lady Woodburn Female Ward," which supplied a long-felt want in the General Hospital, Cuttack. On several occasions, he spent large amounts in relieving

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distress among his tenantry, and his services in this respect were always recognized by government. In connection with the famine relief measures of 1913, he Hon. Mr. Mc-Pherson, Chief Secretary to the Govt., thus spoke at the council meeting on August 29, 1913 : "Local relief funds have been opened, and in this connection govt. desire to record their appreciation to the generocity of the Honourable Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika, who has contributed very largely to the fund and has taken effective steps to assist the tenantry of his estate."

In reference to the same subject, at the Durbar held at Cuttack on November 28, 1913, His Excellency the Viceroy & the Governor-General of India thus observed : "I am happy to think that on this occasion there was no loss of life in your district, and I trust that the prompt advances made by Govt. and the organization of relief funds, to which the Raja of Kanika so generously contributed, together with the repair of the irrigation channels, have done all that is humanly possible to minimize your losses, while some consolation is to be found in the anticipation of bumper rabi crops as the result of reasonable rainfall and the unusual amount of silt deposits."

"The Raja has always taken great interest in the cause of education. He was a member of the Patna University committee, and is at present a member of the governing body of the Revenshaw College and well as of the managing committee of the Ravenshaw Girl's High English School, Cuttack. He has made provision for boy's and girl's schools on his estate, besides

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contributing liberally towards institutions outside. He maintains a high school and several upper and lower primary schools, and there are, further, six Tols to teach Sanskrit for the oriental titles."

Padmanabh Sanskrit Tol, started by him and Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo High School at Rajkanika founded by him are still functioning.

"The Raja maintains four charitable dispensaries within the estate, for free medical treatment of the tenantry as well as of the outside public. The Raja is an expert at billiards, tennis and badminton, and is a great Shikari and an admirable shot. In short, he possesses all the qualities and qualifications necessary for a refined nobleman of high and eminent order."

While writing about the establishment of Revenshaw College at Cuttack and its progress, advocate C. M. Acharya[18] states, "The magnificient and well-equipped Kanika library on the south of the main college buildings was the product of the generous contribution of Rs. 50,000 by Raja Bahadur of Kanika. In April, 1922 His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, while opening the library and unveiling the protrait of Raja Bahadur observes :-

"The Principal, in his introductory speech, has already told us of your generosity in giving this library, the finest, I believe, which any college now possesses, the finest, I am certain, whith which any college has started its work. He has told us that you paid the large sum required-without hegitation inspite of the heavy private losses which have been caused to you by recent floods and distress in your estate.

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There is one aspect of your gift to which I am anxious to draw the attention of the students and others who are present today ; that it may be stamped upon their memory and those of all subsequent users of the library. It is an official record that during the famine and scarcity you showed consideration and humanity to your tenants and is well that those who benefit by your gifts should remember that the generous doner did not confine his generosity to the, but was also a human and liberal landlord and a man who stands by his plighted word."

With the earnest eddorts of Mr. Madhusudan Das, C.I.E. and generosity of Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Kt. O.B.E., Raja Bahadur of Kanika, the Revenshaw Girls' School at Cuttack was started to spread higher education amongst the girls of Orissa and has amply justified its existence.[19]

Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo was the man behind Madhusudan Das and it was Madhusudan Das, who made him responsible for Gopabandhu Babu's first election to the legislative council.[20] In all the personal letters, now perserved in Orissa State Archives, Madhusudan Das has addressed Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo as, "My dearest Rajendra," and has completed the letters by mentioning, "Your Dada."

M. P. Das[21] mentions that Orissa from 1900 to 1936, played a significant role in the sphere of political developments in eastern India. The role of the Oriya leaders to achieve the goal of a separate administrative unit for Orissa is an important area of study and such documents

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pertaining to this subject have also been listed in this volume. The documents pertaining to Oriya movement under the leadership of Madhusudan Das have been listed under the collection of Sri S. N. Mohanty, Cuttack. In this collection, Acc. No. 1925 of the Archive is a printed copy of note, 3.3.1913 by Rai Sheo Sankar Sahay Bahadur to Mr. M.S. Das and R. N. Bhanja Deo on the report of the select committee over the Orissa Tenancy Bill, 1913. English and Acc. No. 2047, copy of letter, 26.11.1931, from Mr. M. S. Das to Raja Saheb regarding the role of congress people played for the creation of a separate Orissa province, English are of interest.[22]

The Patna archives[23] possesses voluminous secretariat records, as Patna was the seat of Government of Bihar and Orissa. Proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Assembly with special reference to the speeches of R. N. Bhanja Deo and Nilakantha Das are preserved there. Study of the whole speeches of R. N. Bhanja Deo is surely going to give new information to the study of formation of Orissa province.

Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo was a notable legislature. He was sworn in as a member of the Indian Legislative Council on September 5, 1916. His speeches in the Indian Legislative Council are recorded in proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council Vols. LV, LVI, LVII and LVIII, within the period of 7th February, 1917—8th March, 1920.

The speech of the Honourable Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo[24] of Kanika, in the Indian Legislative

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Council, delivered on 20th February, 1920, on the resolution, "Amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts," is optimistic for Orissa state formation, which atlast became fruitfull. Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo had maintained his daily diaries. All these diaries are preserved at Kanika house, Cuttack. Their study and study of his correspondences with Madhusudan Das, now preserved at Orissa State Archives, will give new light to the history of formation of Orissa province.

In the words of N. K. Sahu, P. K. Mishra & J. K. Sahu,[25] "The political life of Orissa from 1903 to 1920 was influenced by Madhusudan Das and his associates who were moderates. R. N. Bhanja Deo, Baikuntha Nath De, Harihar Panda, Brajasundar Das and Viswanath Kar, etc. were moderates having faith in the British Raj. The Utkal Union Conference therefore always appealed to the British sense of justice and fairplay. In fact the Indian National Congress too, was dominated by a group of moderates during the period, whose modus operandi was imitated by the Utkal conference.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1917)[26]

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme which proposed constitutional changes and provincial autonomy stimulated great public interest in Oriya-speaking tracts The Oriya press called upon the people to demand union of the scattered Oriya tracts as a prelude to provincial autonomy. Harihar Panda of Aska patronised the publication of a book entitled "The Oriya Movement," giving in detail the genesis and growth of the demand of the Oriya

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speaking people for political unification. On behalf of the Utkal Union Conference a small delegation consisting of Madhusudan Das, Gopabandhu Das, Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Braja Sundar Panda, Sudam Charan Naik and Harihar Panda waited upon montagu to present a memorial. The memorial contained four appendices : Appendix-'A' was a map showing the distribution of the Oriya-speaking areas as per the survey report of Grierson ; Appendix-'B' contained arguments for the creation of an Oriya province ; Appendix-'C' was a list of the Oriya speaking tracts proposed to be united together into a province and Appendix 'D' quoted relevant portions from the Riseley circular. The delegation demanded : (1) the Oriya speaking tracts should be brought together under one separate administration, (2) if that is not possible, the united Oriya-speaking area be placed under one administration, i.e. Bihar and Orissa for the time being. In such a set up they demanded equality of status for the Oriyas with the Biharis.

The Sinha Resolution[27]

The moderate politicians like Madhusudan Das, Braja Sundar Das, Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Viswanath Kar and others who held sway over the Utkal Union Conference till 1920 were determined to convince the government for an early unification of the scattered Oriya-speaking areas. Rajendra Narayan, the Raja of Kanika was a member of the imperial council. He was a close associate of Madhusudan and a zealous patron of the Utkal Union Conference. The Utkal Union Conference at its Puri session

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in 1919 had requested Rajendra Narayan and Sachidananda Sinha (another member in the imperial council from Bihar & Orissa) to move resolutions in the Imperial Legislative Council for the amalgamation of the scattered Oriya tracts.

Accordingly on 20th February, 1920, Sinha proposed the following resolution in the council:

"This council recommends to the Governor-General in council that a mixed committee of officials and non-officials be appointed to formulate a scheme for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts at present administered or controlled by the Government of Madras, Bengal and the central provinces with the existing Orissa division of the province of Bihar and Orissa."

The above resolution get considerable support from the members including Rajendra Narayan whose views on the subject were clear to all.

The Simon Commission and the report of the Attlee Sub-Committee[28]

The royal commission which visited India to examine the question of further constitutional reform was headed by Sir John Simon. As per the behest of the Indian National Congress, the members of the Congress boycotted the Simon commission. But not so the moderate members of the erstwhile Utkal Union Conference who saw in the commission a golden opportunity to get their demand fulfilled. Brajasundar Das, Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Lakshmidhar Mohanty, Brajananda Das and Bhikari Charan Patnaik felt that the Simon commission alone

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was vested with the constitutional power to give a separate province to the Oriya-speaking people. Therefore, notwithstanding criticism from the congress members they welcome the commission at Patna railway station, drawing the attention of Simon to the just demand of Orissa. This gesture of the Oriya leaders impressed Simon profoundly, and a sub-committee under C. R. Attlee was appointed to investigate the problems of the Oriya-speaking people and recommend measures to redress their grievances.

The sub-committee consisted of Major C. R. Attlee as the Chairman, Dr. Suhrawardy of the central legislature, Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo and Lakshmidhar Mohanty of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council as members. They recommended the creation of a separate Orissa province which should include the Orissa division, Angul, Khariar and the agency a part of Ganjam. They did not recommend the inclusion of either Singhbhum area or the Vizagapatam agency tract. The sub-committee felt that the Feudatory states should be associated with proposed province.

The above report of the sub-committee made Simon's job easier. He suggested the necessity of setting up a boundary commission with a neutral chairman to demarcate the boundary of the proposed Orissa province.

Two problems still loomed large as impediments against the creation of the Orissa province. The shape and size of the proposed province remained uncertain. Secondly, the problem of financial liability appeared quite formidable. Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, who was then

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the finance member in the Government of Bihar and Orissa played a significant role in reducing the formidability of the financial question. Brajasundar Das, his associate and a leading disciple of Madhusudan Das assured the Simon commission that the Oriya-speaking people would leave no stone unturned to meet the challenge of deficit likely to be faced by the new province.

From the corresponding letters between Madhusudan Das and Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo, now preserved at Orissa State Archives, it is known that Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo paid one hundred rupees to twenty gang coolies with placards (sandwitch boys) for welcoming Simon commission at Patna railway station in 1928. This shows the yeoman service done by Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo, the Kanika Raja in formation of Orissa province.

P. K. Mishra[29] also informs that when the commission arrived at Patna on 12th December, 1928, the Raja of Kanika, Brajasunder, Brajananda, Lakshmidhar and Bhikari Charan Patnaik welcomed the members at the railway station. They had kept ready a few sandwitch men with placards "Orissa Welcomes Simon", and had displayed similar posters throughout the platform. This unusual gesture of a group of Indians naturally impressed the commisstion, and Major Attlee, one of the members collected few pieces of the posters.

The Raja Bahadur[30], could not sign the reports as he was then appointed a member of the executive council of Bihar and Orissa. He, however, took active part in sending the

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Maharaja of Parlakemedi to the round table conference representing both Orissa and Madras and ultimately in bringing a portion of Parlakemedi into Orissa, in 1930.

P. K. Mishra[31] remarks that the resultant frustration convinced the moderate Oriya leaders that a favourable recommendation of the Simon commission would promote the Oriya cause far better than the congress policy of non-co-operation. The govt. it was hoped, could be brought round to the Oriya point of view by a fresh demonstration of loyalty, rather than by sustained pressure under the congress directive. Consequently, the Raja of Kanika and his trusted friends, Brajasunder and Lakshmidhar, welcomed the commission on behalf of Orissa, co-operated with them in all possible ways and even sent the Raja of Parlakemedi to London to participate in the round table conference on behalf of the people of Orissa. The stand taken by the Raja of Kanika in the face of seathing congress criticism was, indeed, commendable, when judged by later developments.

Gopabandhu Das expired on 17th June, 1928 and Madhusudan Das expired on 4th February, 1934. Both of them didn't survive to see the formation of the province of Orissa, but Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo survived. For the first time the province of Orissa with Cuttack as its capital came into being, as one of the eleven Governor's provinces in India. Sir John Austen Hubback, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. was appointed as its first Governor. To mark the occasion, the Governor convened a meeting on 1st April, 1936 at Cuttack. From the date of its inauguration upto 31st March, 1937 the new province of

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Orissa, was administered by the Governor, with the aid of an advisory council. There was neither any minister nor an executive council. The advisory council consisted of 21 members and Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo was one of them.

To celebrate this occasion Raja Ramachandra Deb IV, the Gajapati of Puri, gave a reception party at Srihahar of Puri, to Sir John Austen Hubback, the Governor of Orissa, the members of advisory council and others in 1937. The group photograph of this reception party, is still exibited in the drawing room of Srinahar at Puri.

It is already observed that Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo was a sportsman, shikari and an admirable shot. Mention may be made of two tusker elephants, which were shot by him and their heads with tusks are decorated as trophies at Rajkanika palace (now stolen) and Kanika kothi (house) at Cuttack. He had shot one huge crocodile in Bhitar Kanika, after it had devoured many females and children. The crocodile's head and silver & metal bangles recovered from the crocodile's stomach are preserved as trophy at Rajkanika palace. Dr. H. R. Bustard, F.A.O., expert examined it and regards it, as the largest scientifically recorded crocodile (ghadial), measuring 7.35 metres (24 ft. $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches). It was the world's largest crocodile, which lived in the mangrove swamps of the delta area of Bhitar Kanika.

It seems Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo was active till his last days, because he wrote (i) A memorial to the president and members, constituent assembly, India, (ii) A note on Killa

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Kanika and (iii) A note on the future position of Kanika in free India.

Madhusudan Das was the master mind, in the formation of Orissa province. He had made four pillars for this work and had given them different tasks for action. The four pillars were Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika, who was given the work to be pro-British and work for formation of Orissa province, the second pillar was Raja Harihar Mardaraj and Raja Ramchandra Mardaraj of Khallikote, who were given the task for organisational works, the third pillar was Gopabandhu Das, who was given the task for doing the social agitational works and the fourth pillar was Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deb of Parlakhemandi, who was given the duty of political side.

Because the role of Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo was pro-British, i.e. in favour of British, in formation of Orissa province, the importance of his actions are not yet fully recognized by Orissa scholars who are misguides by the popular hubbub. But, it was the master mind of Madhusudan Das to keep Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika in pro-British action and get works done for formation of Orissa. Because of this reason, the work of Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo in Orissa province formation was of vital importance and the people of Orissa have a moral obligation in recognizing his efforts, in the making of Orissa province. Without Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika, there would have been no creation of Orissa province. It was possible for the establishment of Orissa province, because

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Raja of Kanika solved the financial problem. This effort was already recognized by Sir Harekrushna Mahtab, the then Prime Minister of Orissa in a approved consent on 3rd August, 1946.[32]

After the second world war, election under limited franchise took place in 1946. Congress party won and H. K. Mahtab became the Prime Minister of Orissa. During that period the rulers of some of the Feudatory states under the leadership of Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo went further in demanding a separate political unit, to be designated as the eastern states union, with Raigarh as its headquarters. They suggested the cessation of Sambalpur from Orissa and its merger with the proposed eastern states union. This movement did not sustain long and was neutralised through ceaseless campaigning by the government machineries which made people conscious of the numerous advantages of the Mahanadi valley project.[33]

The role of Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, in the creation of Orissa province has to be recognized by the Oriyas and it should find proper place in the history of Orissa. After a successful career in persuasion of his efforts for the formation of Orissa, Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo expired on 14th December, 1948.

For the formation of Orissa province, Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika became pro-British, atlast reached the goal of getting a homeland for the Oriyas, i.e. Orissa province, but he had gone so deep individually to be pro-British, that after formation of Orissa

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province, he couldn't come back to the changing national life. Anyway, he fulfilled the aim of his life's mission. Mayadhar Mansinha[34] very rightly states that if the Oriya people, after a vivisected existence for four centuries, are in a home-state of their own, it is really as much due to the efforts of many an Oriya Raja.

Kanika Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo was the man behind Madhusudan Das and is an *UNSUNG DOYEN OF ORIYA NATIONALISM.*

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Chapter - Eight

CONCLUSION

The popular hubbub of Orissa have been introduced in Chapter-I, with the history of Kanika ex-estate in short. It is shown that the hubbub of levying many taxes, is not a reality, but a myth, created by scuff writings. The writings of Anand Chandra Jena and Gopabandhu Das regarding this hubbub are proved false. It is shown that the congress party people of then Orissa (1921-22), i.e. Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee, fooled the Kanika people and are responsible for character assasination of Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika. According to British bead, when wealth is lost, nothing is lost ; when health is lost, something is lost when character is lost, everything is lost.

In Chapter II, the prevalent views on non-co-operation movement in Orissa and the Kanika meli (1921-22) are given. The views have developed because of the development of popular hubbub and unavailability of proper records. Generally it is regarded that Kanika meli (1921-22) was an agrarian or peasant struggle or movement, but ; it has been proved that this meli was socio-political.

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Seven Kanika darbar records have been exposed in Chapter-III. These records help in filling up the gaps of the history of Non-co-operation movement in Orissa and India in general. These exhibits help in knowing the facts of over-acts, unlawfull acts and unlegal steps taken by people of Kanika area, with the propagation and the implementation of non-co-operation movement of the Indian National Congress party. The exposed exhibits prove that there was nothing called peasant's agrarian movement. By supressing these facts, if anybody should be made responsible for double standard informations, then ; it should be pointed explicitly to Ananda Chandra Jena for his poetry book "Dukhini Kanika" (Oriya), Gopabandhu Das for his poetry book "Bandir Atma Katha" (Oriya) and Harekrushna Mahtab for his double standard writings in "Dasa barsara Orissa," and "Sadhanar Pathe", both in Oriya, which are simply followed by most scholars, with the faith that the informations were authentic.

Congress party activities at Kanika, during non-co-operation movement is dealt in Chapter IV. Congress propagandaist Ramdas Babaji was first to speak on 15th August 1921, of collecting of many unjust taxes from the innocent tenants, by the Raja of Kanika. This has been proved to be hypocritical and false news. It was Jadumani Mangaraj, the congress worker, who was entrusted with the charge of supervising the congress work in Kendrapara sub-division. It is from the speech of Jadumani Mangaraj on 28th September, 1921, the first call, that no

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tenant of Kanika shall pay rent was made. Therefore, it is claimed that congress party men like Ramdas Babaji, Jadumani Mangaraj and Madhusudan Patnaik excited and irritated the tenants and people of Kanika by their speeches, for congress party's propaganda of non-co-operation and to win the peasants by addressing them as exploited peasants. The spread of these opinions became very much popular and being provoked Ananda Chandra Jena, Gopabandhu Das and Harekrushna Mahtab wrote literatures in one trend, which do not give the true narration, but are meant to give black picture of Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika. Being urged or instigated by congress party, inspite of the suspension of the non-co-operation movement, the tenants of Kanika continued their agitation in their own style, took law into their own hands and met with the fate of police firing on 23rd April, 1922.

After the suspension of the non-co-operation movement on 12th February, 1922, the Orissa congress leaders changed their stand on Kanika affairs, which is an interesting event and finds its description in Chapter-V. The double standard writings of Harekrushna Mahtab are also exposed. It is claimed that Harekrushna Mahtab took the trend of Ananda Chandra Jena's and Gopabandhu Das's writings, which facts are proved to be not genuine. Hence, the double standard writings developed and are responsible for character assasination of Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika, without whom, there would have been no creation of Orissa province.

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In Chapter-VI, the letters of Madhusudan Das to Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika, which are now preserved at Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar ; have been dealt. Madhusudan Das, popularly known as Kulabruddha, was the moving spirit for about half-a-century in later part of nineteenth century and early part of twentieth century, in the political, economic and social life of Orissa. He proved himself more than a match to the British-both intellectually and in the practical sense. His life is a saga of patriotism and public service[1]. The letters prove that the aim and objectivity of Madhusudan Das wouldn't have been fulfilled without the support of Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika. Therefore Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo was the right hand of Madhusudan Das or the man behind Madhusudan Das.

In the modern history of Orissa, Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Kt. O.P.E., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.S Raja of Kanika is black listed, because of the development of popular hubbub, but without his help, there would have been no creation of Orissa province. In Chapter-VII, the short life of ORIYA NATIONALIST Raja Sir R. N. Bhanja Deo is given, because he had remained an unsung doyen of Oriya nationalism.

As dealt in this book, the political activities of Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee, during non-co-operation movement within 1921-22 and the double standard writings of Ananda Chandra Jena, Gopabandhu Das and Harekrushna Mahtab are responsible for character assasination of

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Raja Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika, whose role in the movement of Orissa province formation was of vital importance. The author will regard the labour in writing this book fruitful, when historians of Modern History of Orissa, will utilise the informations of this book, to write and improve the suppressed, neglected and depressed chapters of Modern History of Orissa.

The author concludes by quoting the famous four sayings

1. "You can fool some of the people all the time and all of the people some of the time : but you cann't fool all of the people all the time."

   (Saying attributed both to Phineas— Taylor Barnum (1810-91) and Abraham Lincoln (1809-65)

2. It is indeed the fault of the sea that it sinks down the precious gem and holds up the straw on the surface. The gem remains the gem, and the straw remains the straw. (Sarngadhara Paddhati, 315)

3. Errors like straw over the surface flow, those who wants pearls must dive below.

4. "I would ask any too genteel reader, who cann't endure to have said what everyone now a days thinks and feels, to remember a well-worn sentence of St. Jerome's : If an offence come out of the truth, better is it that the offence come than that the truth be concealed." (Thomas Hardy).

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Truth triumphs and grasping the obvious truth is a question that historians will have to answer.

Jai-Hind

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APPENDICES

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Appendix - 1

ORISSA AND BIHAR LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS, SESSION ON "KANIKA DISTURBANCES," VOL. V, AUGUST 25, 1922, PASSIM

OTHER SPEECHES

BABU REBATI KANTA GHOSH :— Sir, the resolution that has been moved runs as follows :—

This council recommends to the government to appoint a committee with a non-official majority to inquire into the last Kanika troubles.

All that the resolution wants is an inquiry by a committee. The resolution does not want that the committee after inquiry should submit a report, that is to say, to appoint a court and to ask it to take evidence but not to deliver judgement. A resolution like this would be worse than useless and the resolution as worded is badly worded and so. Sir, the best advice which I can give to the Hon'ble mover is to make a brilliant retreat. Secondly, the resolution recommends inquiry into the last Kanika troubles. The last Kanika troubles so far as I know were due to the formation of the melis. We have heard from the speech of the

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Hon'ble Mr. Mc Pherson that such melis are formed when something special or important happens. The history of Kanika will show that from time immemorial the people of Kanika are susceptible to such melis. There was a meli in 1843.

On 23rd January, 1817, commissioner, Mr. Mills, makes observations to the like effect. Recently in 1904, when the estate was under the management of the present Raja and Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Das was manager, there was a meli. This was due to a change introduced by government in the receipt form. There was another meli in 1906. False sensational telegrams mentioning house-breaking at night, theft and even murder were sent to government and the local officials, and after proper inquiries government had to stop such false telegrams. Sir, such periodical troubles are the characteristics of the people of Kanika and there is nothing unusual in this. Sir, before the council will vote for a committee of inquiry the council should know definitely what was the cause of the last Kanika trouble. I have already submitted to the council that the people of Kanika are habituated to be led by the alluring words of others. The last Kanika disturbances were due to the activities of the non-co-operators. Since 2nd July, 1921, there have been regular and systematic activities of non-co-operators at Kanika. False hopes were held out to ignorant people regarding non-payment of Raj dues and gradually excited them. A permanent ashram was started at Kantapara about half a mile from Rajkanika. Non-co-operation songs and kirtans were for sometime

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sung almost daily. By these songs and kirtans the feelings of the massess were greatly excited. A Swaraj jajna was performed to which a large number of people of several villages were invited with a view to impress upon them that Swaraj was about to be established. Fiery speeches were delivered against the Raj and several false and alluring hopes held out. Civil disobedience was about to be started on 1st January, 1922. We know Sir, before the advent of the non-co-operators at Kanika the relationship between the landlord and the tenants was very cordial. The public are aware of this. The tenants used to approach the landlord whenever they happend to be in need of anything or had any grievance to bring to his notice. When a tenant lost his house by fire he approached the landlord. When any road was needed for the convenience of any village or a group of villages, they approached the landlord, and got his help. During the high floods of 1913 the Raja rendered all possible assistance to his tenants. To cite another instance of the cordiality of the relationship between the landlord and the tenants, the Raja personally visited several villages and gave necessary help. Over 98,000 persons were gratuitously relieved during the floods of 1920. Mr. Briscoe who was then the collector of Orissa and Mr. Gruning who was then the commissioner of Orissa will bear me out in this. These facts surely indicate that the relation between the landlord and the tenants has always been healthy in the past. During the last 20 years the present Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo took over the management of the estate. For the improvement of the estate and the tenantry he

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maintains over 200 miles of roads and embankments. There was no immediate cause for the troubles at Kanika and the remote causes now put forth are not real grievances at all. The whole trouble was brought about by the influence of the non-co-operation movement. Gradually people grew more and more defiant and prevented the Raj employees from doing their duties. The creed of non-co-operation was lost and the so-called non-violent non-co-operation was converted by the ignorant masses to violent non-co-operation. Fish was forcibly caught from the Raja's tank, mangoes and other fruits were plucked, timbers were cut and removed from reserved forests and jungles were destroyed by fire. These and other overt acts actually led to the commission of offences resulting in breaches of public peace and the situation gradually grew worse. There was lawlessness and life and property were considered unsafe.

In consequence of serious disorder and lawlessness steps had to be taken by the authorities. Action was taken against twelve persons under Section 107 of the criminal procedure code. Eight were bound down. One of them admitted that the situation of Kanika was due to the all-India movement and this was responsible to a certain extent for the breach of the peace. The first specific case was instituted on 18th March, 1922 by the father of an employee of the estate against three of his co-villagers. It was a case of wrongful restraint and assault. It was proved that the complainant was thus molested because he did not join the unruly tenants. The three accused were convicted

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and fined under Section 341 of the Criminal procedure code.

Four cases against 74 persons were instituted for forcibly cutting jungle produce from the Raja's reserved forest ; 3 under Sec. 379 of the Indian penal code in Cuttack district on 27th March, 1922 and another under Section 411 of the Indian penal code in Balasore district. All the accused persons confessed their guilt and said they committed the offence in persuance of a decision arrived at a meeting of the mahasabha. They were convicted and lightly punished with fines varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30. The next case was under Section 147 of the Indian penal code against 8 persons. It was a case of attack of an unlawful assembly consisting of four to five hundred people on some muharrirs and peons of the estate on 9th April, 1922 at dead of night when they were sleeping quietly. The muharrirs and peons were mercilessly beaten and driven out of the village. As they were penitent, they were dealt with lightly and convicted to undergo various terms of imprisonment.

Sir, these are all the Kanika troubles. The situation during the trouble hours was visited repeatedly by the Superintendent of Police, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, the Sub-divisional Magistrate, the District Magistrate and also by the Commissioner.

The last Kanika troubles were inquired into in a series of criminal cases in open court presided over by different persons. Several persons have confessed their guilt and the judicial decisions have not been challenged by anybody as yet. I fail to see what useful purpose

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will be served by a committee of inquiry as proposed by the hon'ble mover. I have no respect for the observations of the hon'ble mover. If he had gone to the disturbed area soon after the disturbance and made inquiries and seen things with his eyes and then could tell the House what happened in Kanika and the judicial discussion was wrong and partial, certainly that would have commanded some respect of the House. But Sir, he did nothing of the sort, simply sent a resolution and supported the same with probably third-hand and fourth-hand information. Certainly one cannot have any respect for such cheap patriotism in preference to judicial decision.

Sir, I am led to think that there is no genuine desire of the public for a committee of inquiry. Kanika is partly situated in the district of Cuttack and partly in Balasore. Sir, I know of no public meetings or any demonstration in either district demanding a committee of inquiry. Sir, precedent is better than precept. Legitimate precedent is good but bad precedent should be discouraged. This is really demanding an interference in a private quarrel between a zamindar and tenant. In matters relating to tenancy acts or of revenue laws or rent laws in the province the legislative council has a legitimate right and function to inquire, but in a matter of the kind under discussion this council cannot be the final authority. It would be wrong for this council to take on its shoulders such responsibilities. It would be wrong in principle and it would be wrong in practice and what is more I think it would be creating a dangerous precedent. I really apprehend,

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Sir, that some day or other the council might be dragged, if this resolution is carried and if a precedent is created, to inquire into the family and domestic troubles of the hon'ble mover. For obvious reasons I cannot lend my support to a resolution like this. So, I must oppose this resolution.

BABU CHARUCHANDRA RAY CHOUDHURY Sir, I regret that I have to oppose the resolution of my revered friend the hon'ble mover, as changing circumstances have changed the necessity. Sir, I beg leave of you and the House to submit to the House the existing relation between the Raja of Kanika and his tenants before the recent disturbance in question, as the House will then be in a position to know of the real state of affairs there and whether a committee of inquiry is required now. The relation has always been satisfactory and sympathetic. The tenants always have had an easy access to the Raja for the redress of any grievance they may have ; the landlord was ever ready to land his helping hand to his tenants as best as he could. I may cite here some specific instances in 1913, the high floods in Orissa washed away a portion of Kanika. The Raja rendered all possible assistance to his tenants which enable them to tide over their difficulties to a great extent. This will be seen from the answer given in this council on the 29th of August, 1913, by the Hon'ble Mr. Mc Pherson, the then Chief Secretary of the government. The Raja always takes effective steps to assist the tenantry of his estate. When the tenants lost their crops by drought or floods and approached the landlord for help, the Raja

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freely advanced taccavi loans. Only very recently in 1920 by the unusual flood in Orissa which was the highest on record nearly the whole of Kanika was affected. The Raja and his son personally visited villages after villages to look into the condition of people and gave them necessary help. Over 98,000 persons received gratuitous relief during the period of distress. The Raja has made a munificent gift to the Ravenshaw College library- which I believe is one of the finest libraries of any college now possesses. Thus you see, Sir, that he does not confine his generosity to his tenantry only. The tenants have expressed their gratitude to their landlords by public demonstrations. These facts indicate that the relation between him and his tenantry has always been a healthy one. The present Raja took over the management of his estate in 1902. During the last 20 years he has effected many changes and improvements in all directions. He constructed many new embankments for the protection of the cultivating classes and to promote agriculture. He maintains over 20 miles of road for communications and transport. He has provided over 100 tanks for the use of his tenantry. For the relief of the suffering tenantry he maintains three charitable dispensaries. He is an ardent advocate of education and to remove the illiteracy of the ignorant masses he has provided several upper primary and lower primary schools for boys and girls. The estate has the proud privilege of having a high english school within it at a great cost. There are five tolls and a good number of stipends for the spread of Sanskrit education. There is current a fallacious theory that the interests of the landlord and the tenants are

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generally opposed to each other. The best interests of both parties are served when a landlord merges his own interests with those of his tenantry- a landlord may win the faith of his tenantry by his so doing. I say, Sir, this has been the guiding principle of all landlords, and the Raja of Kanika has always followed this golden rule. Can all these improvements be effected by any proprietor who had no genuine love for his tenantry ? Morally speaking, the Raja has spread no pains or money for the general welfare of his estate. There is no trouble when men are law-abiding and love peace and order. The Raja was managing his estate peacefully as the popular leader not only of his tenantry but as one of the leading men of Orissa. But by a strange irony of fate a sudden and wonderful transformation was seen in the people— all gratitude, love, honour and obedience, respect for law and order were fast disappearing from amongst the tenantry. The question now comes, what is the cause of this sudden transformation— has it any agrarian discontent in it or is in the direct outcome of the mischievous activities of the class of agitators whose sole intention has always been to benefit from any change in the present condition ? Sir, I submit that it is the inevitable consequence of the hot air blown on villages of Kanika by perambulating agitators in whom an undigested education has produced a repulsive form of verbal diarrhoea. Unfortunately for the Raj, Kanika was selected as their place of action. Kanika was always uppermost in their minds, as they found it congenial to their purpose. I believe, Sir, Kanika was marked out for their activities as it was one of the biggest

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and most important estates in Orissa. They have always tried to bring chaos in places where law and order prevails for their sinister motive. As they found no support or sympathy from the Raja they worked with vengeance. Sir, the peasants as a class are very credulous. It is very easy to set fire to an inflammable material such as the peasant mob. When they are told if they stand together and frighten the zamindar they will be able to get any concessions they desire, they become very unruly. Such was the state in Kanika.

Before concluding, I beg to submit that this occurrence is a warning bell to landlords as a class. Their position is a very peaculiar one. They carry certain responsibilities towards their tenantry and established government. For the common weal of the country it is their duty to stand against any such chaos.

BABU BISWANATH KAR :— Sir, I am sorry, I am unable to support the resolution of my friend Mr. Mahapatra. I have closely followed his arguments, but I am not convinced that he has made out a case. I do not blame my friend for that, for, like many other people he has solely relied upon the poetical effusions of a half-educated and misguided man and the reports of irresponsible newspapers. I see the supporters of the resolution have not gone a step further. The hon'ble mover did not think it necessary to go a little deeper and derive direct knowledge from reliable and independent sources before coming foreward with his resolution although he had the full advantage of doing so, living as he does very close to the Kanika estate. The agitation was going on for over

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seven or eight months before it came to the last stage. Nobody took notice of it— no one ever asked a question or tried to ascertain the real truth. Now the easiest thing possible is to ask the government to appoint a committee of inquiry. I hold no brief for the Raja of Kanika or for any other men or party. But I must say what seems to me reasonable and that by the light of facts I have been able to gather from independent sources. There is no denying the fact that the non-co-operators had a free hand in the Kanika Raj & preached their doctrines there to their hearts content. They spread discontent among the ignorant and easily excitable masses and incited them against all authority. We all know the tactics of average non-co-operators-they catch the unsophisticated minds of thoughtless people by creating false hopes in them. That they worked in Kanika quite unchecked is conclusively proved by the fact that the students of the Raj Kanika High School twice went on strike at their instigation. There are various other proofs. The judicial decisions of the cases connected with the disturbances cannot be ignored. One cannot dispose of the statement in open court of one of the non-co-operators named Madhusudan Patnaik. He had to admit that he was mainly responsible for the state of affairs in Kanika. Is it then fair to call the movement an agrarian one in the face of such proofs ? Grievances of tenants there might be— where there is not ? It is not for me to defend the Raja of Kanika — I do not say that Kanika is heaven itself. But almost all who know something of Kanika will admit that it is one of the best-managed estates of Orissa and the Raja Bahadur is one of the

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most considerate of the landlords. But the Kanika people are notorious for meli or combination, and melis were not wanting even when the estate was under the management of the Court-of-Wards. Fortunately for the present Raja of Kanika there was no such meli for the last 15 years or so. But still the spirit was there — the evil propensities were there. Where could the non-co-operators find better field for their mischievous propaganda ? It was they who excited the people, created the meli and brought things to such a pass. When the situation became very serious, people wore a defiant attitude, stopped payment of rent, insulted and assaulted the Raj employees— even the civil court peon, then only strong police help was requisitioned and the matter came to the regretable end of firing.

Now that nearly there months have passed after the last occurrence and matters have been gradually assuming almost a normal appearance, I do not see what useful purpose will be served by the appointment of a committee of inquiry. So far as I know, the Raja Bahadur himself was not opposed to any inquiry when there was time for it. In fact he invited several persons to come to Kanika and see things for themselves and I was one among them. Even he asked some of the non-co-operation leaders to come and see the doings of their workers in Kanika. It was in November, 1921. But nobody listened to him at the time. To my mind, Sir, it is not only waste of time, energy and money to institute an inquiry at this stage but it will only rekindle the fire already extinguished after the outburst. Surely,

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this is not the way to bring back or establish cordial relations between the landlord and his tenants.

I have said very briefly what I had to say on the subject.

Now for one point in connection with the pamphlet published by me. I have said I was one of the persons whom the Raja Bahadur invited to see things and form an independent opinion. I had correspondence with the Raja saheb on the subject and I thought it necessary to publish the last letter of the Raja in order that sensible people might have an idea of his views about the matter. In the concluding paragraph of the letter he has clearly said that an inquiry at this stage would prove injurious instead of doing any good to any party. My friend Mr. Mahapatra is wrong in saying that the Raja is still desirous of starting an inquiry.

With these few words, Sir, I strongly oppose the resolution.

MAULAVI SHAIKH ABDUL MAJID :— Sir, I am sorry I cannot support the resolution of my esteemed friend. In view of the various accounts given above by those who have opposed and of all the cases judicially tried, it is necessary to consider what this series of cases occuring within the space of a month or so can indicate. Certainly it reveals nothing but a spirit of perfect disorder and lawlessness. The judgement in the various cases clearly disclose that the disturbances were due to the activities of the non-co-operation movement and one of the principal non-co-operators who is now in jail clearly admitted this in his

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written statement in a case and which has been filed in court.

The affairs here having been inquired into by the Superintendent of Police, the Sub-divisional Officer of Kendrapara, the Collector of Cuttack, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police and the Commissoner of the Orissa division and after there have been specific cases and judicial findings about the general situation one naturally fails to see what earthly purpose would be served by the proposed inquiry. After a good deal of trouble and anxiety as well as a long period of unrest, things are gradually coming back to their normal condition and the people have found out how grossly they were misled. But it would certainly be a dangerous policy to reopen the matter by raking up the past. The judicial findings disclose that the tenants alone responsible for the situation brought about by themselves and as such they are certainly responsible for the consequence. There is no reason therefore why public energy, time and money should be spent in making an inquiry into the matter at this stage. The people as we find from the judicial proceedings were not only defiant towards the Raj employees but also towards the government and their officials and in order to give security to the people and restore law and order, government have sanctioned the establishment of a temporary police station for a period of six months within the affected area.

The action of the police has been severely and unjustly criticised by some of the previous speakers referring to the firing on a disorderly mob. In this connection the remark of the Sub-

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divisional Magistrate Mr. Van Gricken of Kendrapara in his judgement on 2nd June, 1922 of a rioting case may be read with interest.

'In conclusion, I should say something about the conduct of the police. I think it was all that could be desired. Inspite of the great provocation offered by the several mobs the Superintendent of Police and his men exercised a great deal of forbearance. It was only when the Superintendent of Police found rhings were becoming very serious and if he delayed any longer by keeping on warning the mob, the lives of not only himself but of his whole force would certainly have been endangered-the mob was gradually surrounding them - it was then only that he ordered the firing of ball (and that after buck shot had been fired with no effect). The firing was thoroughly justified in my opinion.'

From this it is clear that the Superintendent of Police and his men were in no way to be blamed.

Now if the proposed committee would go no making inquiries village to village from the tenants against the landlord, it would simply raise their feelings and excite them again.

It is always a dangerous policy to help in any way to set up tenants against the landlord and create an ill-feeling between them, the result of which is bound to be ruinous to both. By restoring good feelings between them we shall be doing a great service to the tenants, especially as the landlord can then do a good deal for his tenants as he has all along been doing. For the reasons given above I am

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strongly of opinion that no useful purpose will be served by any inquiry into the various allegations in 'Dukhini Kanika'. Rather I am of opinion that an inquiry is likely to cause serious tension. Such a result would be undesirable at any time ; it would be dangerous now.

With these words I oppose the resolution with all the emphasis that I can command.

BABU PITABAS PATNAIK :— Sir, it is a matter of great regret, that certain facts have been stated before the council which if true, really makes the case more deplorable. I am sorry I cannot support the resolution moved by my friend. The Raja of Kanika is not a mere zamindar. He is a leader of the Oriyas and my friend has described him as a personage in whom high hopes of Orissa lies. It is not necessary to go into details of this kind. I shall only point out two facts. Such being the case we may take the statement of the Raja of Kanika on the one hand and the facts stated in 'Dukhini Kanika' from which the hon'ble mover has drawn his inspiration on the other. I would not say more but simply two points will be sufficient to make the matter clear. First who is the author of this 'Dukhini Kanika' ? Perhaps the hon'ble the leader of the House did not know the antecedents of this gentleman.

THE HON'BLE THE PRESIDENT :— You must not discuss that.

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Appendix - 2

"NOTE ON ALLEGED ILLEGAL TAXES IN KANIKA," *THE STAR OF UTKAL,* WEEKLY NEWSPAPER, CUTTACK, WEDNESDAY, 2ND JULY 1924, ORISSA STATE ARCHIVES, BHUBANESWAR, GOVERNMENT RECORDS ACC. NO. 478 KNK

NOTE ON ALLEGED ILLEGAL TAXES IN KANIKA

An agitation has been going on against the Kanika Raj during the past three years in the course of which vague allegations have been made of 60 or 70 kinds of illegal casses being levied by the Raj. Lately a local newspaper which has been intimately associated with the agitation has published a letter signed by "Vox populi" in which it is stated :-

"Herewith a list of taxes that are realised in the estate of a nobleman near our home and who is considered to be an enlightened chief. People must appreciate the fertile brain that evolved out such a nice variety of taxes carefully, prepared to drain the poorest ryot even. Should one wonder even if a ryot riots under them ? The landlord is in the good book of the authorities, but unfortunately the day is

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nearing when these oppressions will have to cease."

The list appended to the letter names 44 taxes and fees and 7 mal-practices, the word "rent" having been carefully avoided.

Although the name of the estate is not mentioned therein, if evidently refers to Kanika and in view of the public interest aroused by the agitation we have examined the whole question and our finding is given below. It will appear that out of the 51 items in the list 14 do not exist at all, 5 are fees which are paid, from time immemorial, to a temple outside Kanika and have nothing to do with the Raj, 2 are payments to religious institutions in the Raj and not to the Raj and of the remaining 30, 23 are legal and customary and 7 are fees which are paid by raiyats for services asked for and rendered to them.

We are satisfied that the Raja has not imposed any illegal tax. The estate was under the management of the Court-of-Wards periodically at different times and on the last occasion for about 40 years (from 1862 to 1902) and during these periods of management by the Court-of-Wards there were four settlements viz. in 1845, 1868, 1880 and 1893 under the directions of the Board of Revenue. The last was concluded in 1895 and all the rents and fees payable by tenants were minutely examined by the two successive settlement officers, Mr. Srinath Dutta and Mr. Sakhawat Hossain, both government officers of high reputation and the latter dealt with elaborately each and every kind of payment, legal and customary, in his report

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which was printed, under the authority of the government, at the Bengal Secretariat Press in 1895. The Raja who took over the estate from the Court-of-Wards in 1902 has strictly adhered to the principles laid down in the settlement report and we are satisfied that he is unnecessarily accused of levying illegal taxes.

We now proceed to deal with the alleged illegal taxes and fees and mal-practices as detailed in the list published in the newspaper referred to above.

1. FOREST TAX

It is stated :-

"Forest tax :– From 2 annas from each family who goes to the forest per year to 4 annas then raised to 8 annas ; now six pice per rupee of the land tax."

The jungles of the Raj cover an area of over one lakh acres and contain trees chiefly fit for fire-wood. The tenants obtain firewood, house-building materials and wooden agricultural implements from the jungles for their own consumption. Prior to the settlement the fees were two pice per maund. The Court-of-Wards revised the rate and fixed it at first at four annas per family per annum and then at 8 annas per family per annum. This was, on the whole, a concession to the tenants but they complained that the system of checks by the patrolling staff was inconvenient to them and applied to the Raj, in a body, in 1909 asking for a fixed rate of two pice per rupee of rent and the removal of the restrictions imposed. This was accepted by the Raj and the rate is

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still in force. Considering the present value of wood and the rates fixed by the Khurda government estate and certain other estates the rate is by no means excessive. We should make it clear that while under the former rate every family had to pay 8 annas irrespective of the area of his holding, under the existing rate the majority of tenants have to pay much less than 8 annas because their rent is less than Rs. 16/-. The tenants would certainly not be better off if they were prevented from taking wood from the Raj jungles and required to buy it at the present market rate. That the rent is legal has been judicially pronounced in a suit. It is recognised by the Orissa Tenancy Act. It is untrue that the rate was at first two annas per family.

2. FOREST AND ROAD-CESS OF SHARE PADDY

It is alleged :-

"Forest and road-cess on share paddy ; six pice for forest and 6 pice for road-cess per rupee worth of paddy."

Certain tenants pay produce rent instead of rent in cash, which is recognised by the Orissa Tenancy Act. Assessment is made of the forest fee on the valuation of the half of the produce at two pice per rupee as in the case of tenants who pay rent in cash. The road-cess valuation of the estate has been made by government on this principle. There is, therefore, no illegality in it.

It is not true that the rate is six pice or $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna per rupee.

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3. BONE TAX

It is alleged :-

"Bone Tax :- 10 annas per maund"

There is no such tax and it is not true that bone is sold at 10 annas per maund. Bones lying on lands of the Raj are the property of the Raj who is at liberty to dispose of them but they are not sold.

4. HIDE TAX

It is alleged :-

"Hide Tax :- at first 10 annas for each hide was paid to the Pans. The chief purchased and sold it himself. Now Rs. 2/- is realised annually from each family."

The skins of dead animals lying on the lands of the Raj are the property of the Raj who settles the right of skinning with Pans who pay 12 annas to Rs. 3/- per annum per village or a group of villages for leases granted. It is untrue that the Raj paid 10 annas per skin to Pans. The Raj never purchases or sells skins.

5. FALKAR (FRUIT TAX)

The Raj has a large number of fruit trees. Prior to 1843 the Raj used to take all the fruits even the fruits of trees on raiyati holdings giving only a portion, by way of remuneration, to tenants appointed to keep watch so there was no Falkar. It will appear from the settlement report of 1895 that for the first time in 1868 fruit trees were assessed at rates varying from 1 to 2 annas per tree. The Court-of-Wards allowed raiyats to enjoy fruits of trees

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grown by them on their raiyati land and this has not been interfered with. Falkar is taken by the Raj for mango topes belonging to the Raj and fruit trees grown on Raj lands and there is no illegality in it.

6. GRAZING TAX FOR BUFFALOES

The allegations are as follows :-

"Grazing tax for buffaloes :- at first no tax, afterwards Re. 1 for every 10 buffaloes, then 2 annas per buffalo, then 4 annas, then 2 annas and now 8 annas per year."

There are large herds of buffaloes in the estate which graze on waste lands belonging to the Raj. It is not true that no fee was formerly paid. It will appear from the settlement report of 1895 that originally the fee was one rupee per head of buffalo including calves. In 1843 the rate was reduced to one rupee for 3 head and subsequently to one rupee for five head. In 1868 the Court-of-Wards fixed the rate at one rupee for four head. In 1880, it was revised by the Court-of-Wards and fixed at one rupee for ten head. In 1893 the Court-of-Wards restored the rate fixed in 1868 and owing to the rise in the price of dairy produce the rate was subsequently raised at first to 6 annas and then to 8 annas. The present rate is half of what was in force prior to 1843. The fee is perfectly legal and it is recognised by the Orissa Tenancy Act.

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7-11. FEES FOR REGISTRATION OF NAMES OF HEIRS ADDITION OR REMOVAL OF NAMES AND PARTITION OF HOLDINGS AND CORRECTION OF MISTAKES

The allegations are as follows :-

7. Registration fees for names of the heirs after the death of the owner of the land Re. 1 up to 8 acres, beyond that 2 as for every additional acre. Fee to be charged from each heir separately.

8. Land Registration fee for adding names of heirs charges as in 7.

9. Registration fee for removing any names ; charges as per 7.

10. Registration fee charged for dividing lands between brothers and others ; charges as in 7.

11. Correction fees at settlement time ; Re. 1-12-0.

These fees which are known as mutation fees or fees for revision of records on the application of tenants are legal and were sanctioned by the Board of Revenue in 1893 when the estate was under the Court-of-Wards as will appear from the settlement report of 1895. The principle followed at present is the same as was laid down by the board.

The first condition in the Hukumnamas issued to tenants in 1894 after the settlement of 1893 was that a mutation fee of 2 as per acre, subject to a minimum of 4 annas and a maximum of one rupee, would be payable by the tenants.

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12. EGG TAX, 13. CASTRATION FEE FOR MAKING BULLOCKS, 14. FEE FOR OUTSIDE OVEN AT THE TIME OF FEEDING MANY PEOPLE, 4 ILLEGIBLE, 15. CHANNEL TAX

The allegation is as follows :-

"Channel tax :- called boat tax for going to the forest, 1 mile in distance 4 as for going and 4 as for coming."

There are many channels which were excavated by the Raj and no fees are charged for the use of them by tenants except one for special reasons. This channel was excavated by the Raj for its own use. It leads to one of the reserved forests of the Raj and the tenants have no right of way over it but during the melee of 1922 hundred of boats invaded the reserved forests by that channel. Since then it has been necessary to keep proper watch there and when any boat uses it as a short cut a nominal fee of four annas per boat is charged to meet the cost of the establishment and repairs.

16. FISHING TAX

There are about twenty thousand acres of fisheries belonging to the Raj which is let out to fishermen. The rent is perfectly legal and every estate in Orissa realises such a rent.

It has been in force from time immemorial as will appear from the settlement report of 1895 and is recognised by the Orissa Tenancy Act.

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17. TAX FOR FISH

The allegation is as follows :-

"Tax for fish :- 6 pies per seer of big fish and 3 pies per seer of small fish charged to the consumer over and above the auction money which the chief receives from the seller."

No such tax is levied.

18. TAX FOR STOCKING PADDY

The allegation is as follows :-

"Tax for stocking paddy :- on the river side 4 as to 8 as, from every individual."

This is really rent for temporary occupation of land belonging to the Raj which is not included in a raiyat's holding. The charge is trifling.

19. COWDUNG TAX

The allegation is as follows :-

"Cowdung tax 4 annas to 8 annas."

There is no such tax. It was found that in some places people dug pits on roads constructed by the Raj and stored cowdung and to discourage that practise damages were realised. The instances are rare.

20. TAX FOR BRINGING BACK A MAN TO HIS OWN CASTE, 21. FEE FROM ANY PERSON WHO MAY HAVE COMMIRRED THE SIN OF KILLING A COW

The allegation are as follows :-

"Tax for bringing back any man to his own caste which he may offended Rs. 2-8-0. The

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man of course spends money as usual in feeding the Brahmins."

"Fee from any who may have committed the sin of having killed a cow. Rs. 2-8-0."

No such taxes are levied by the Raj. When a man has committed a sin for which he is called upon by the members of his community to go through Prayaschitta, he naturally seeks Byabastha for Prayaschitta.

There are councils of 5 Pundits (mostly title-holders) in the Raj which give Byabastha and to make the Byabastha binding and save himself from further harassment, the man applies to the Raj which passes on the application to the council of Pundits. Rs. 2/8/- is paid by the applicant of which Rs. 1/4/0 goes to the Pundits, -/8/- to their Dharma Puran Fund, -/8/- to the temple where the Byabastha is given and -/4/- to the peon who takes the application to the Pundits of the council. The Byabastha given is treated as final and no objection is raised by persons inclined to harass the man. This system has been in vogue from time immemorial.

22. BRIDGE TAX

The allegation is as follows :-

"Bridge tax :- from people living round about the place where the bridge is to be made 8 per acre."

There is really no such tax. The Raj has a general system of embankments and sluices which are constructed and maintained by it. But in special cases, when a sluice is required

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by the raiyats of a particular village or group of villages for the discharge of water from their fields, they contribute only a portion of the cost of construction. The Raj maintains them at its own cost.

23. AMIN FEE

The allegation is as follows :-

"Amin fee :- 12 as for marking out plots, Head Amin Fee Re. 1, Inspector Re. 1, Tahasildar fee Re. 1, Manager's fee Rs. 3/4/0 all these for the same purpose. Of course if Amin settles (illegible) any other. If he fails an (illegible), he will have to pay both Amin and Inspector fees and so on."

Such fee is paid only when an application is made by a raiyat for the deputation of Amins etc. to make local enquiries in his own interests and in no case is any such officer thrust upon the tenants.

24. RECORD SEARCH FEE

The allegation is as follows :-

"Record search fee :- If a man fails to pay the registration fee on the appointed date, he must pay 4 as which is called Record Search Fee."

This is not correct- The fact is that when a tenant wants a search to be made for any record deposited in the record room a searching fee of 4 annas is charged. The instances are few.

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25-29 SHAVING TAX, BHOGA TAX, HOMA TAX, DHARANAS FEES AND FEE FOR RECITING HYMN BEFORE THE GOD

The allegations are as follows :-

"Shaving tax :- Any child or any man who gets shaved near the temple has to pay one anna."

"Bhoga tax :- One anna from him who wants to offer bhog to the God."

"Homa tax :- 4 annas."

"Dharana fees Rs. 1-4-0."

"Fees for reciting hymn before the God :- One anna."

It is untrue that such taxes are realised by the Raj. Apparently the writer refers to the customary dues paid to the ancient temple of Akhandaleswar at Aridi. This temple is outside Kanika. The Sebaits who quarrelled amongst themselves have entrusted the management of it to the Raja Bahadur. These dues are paid to the temple by persons performing religious ceremonies there and not to the Raj. The payment is based on ancient custom and goes to the fund of the temple.

30. NOTICE FEE-4 AS

When a raiyat applies for mutation, partition, etc., a notice is issued to persons interested enquiring if they have any objection to it and a peon's fee of 4 annas is charged.

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31. FEE FOR KNOWING THE NUMBER OF ANY PLOT OF LAND- 4 AS

It is not understood what is meant by this. Apparently it refers to applications for copies or extracts from records in the record room. Usually the searching fee is 4 annas (vide item No. 24) and the copying fee is 4 annas.

32. LEDGER BOOK FEE- 5 AS

Not understood what is meant by this.

33. SPECIAL BUFFALO TAX

It is alleged :-

"Special buffalo tax :- For grazing on the river side in addition to ordinary buffalo tax."

No such tax is levied.

34. KH. MA. FEES- 5 AS

Not understood what is meant by this.

35. NEW YEAR'S DAY FRESENT

"New year's day present 2 as in cash or kind. Failing to pay it on that day Re. 1/- in addition as fine."

The Suniya is the zamindar's new year's day in Orissa. According to ancient custom prevailing from time immemorial tenants come and pay respects to the Raj and cordial greetings are exchanged. Tenants make small presents voluntarily and they are entertained by the Raj and some are given clothes, etc. This is purely a social custom which is observed all over Orissa. The Raj spends much more than the presents bring him.

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36. FINE FOR REMOVING ONE'S NAME FROM THE BLACK REGISTER

It is not understood what is meant by this.

37-38 NALIA CREEPER STEM AND LEAF

"Nalia creeper stem (used for making baskets) tax realised from Pans".

"Nalia creeper leaf (used for matting) tax realised from Kandaras."

These are valuable materials used for making baskets and fine mats and the Raj realises fees from persons who take them from the Raj lands. This has been in force since 1868, when the estate was under the Court-of-Wards. It is in force in the states of Orissa and is not illegal as will appear from the settlement report of 1895.

39. WAX TAX

Fees are realised from persons gathering honey and wax from the Raj jungles and this has been in force since 1868 when the estate was under the Court-of-Wards as will appear from the settlement report of 1895.

40-41. GARTA BARK AND CHARCOAL TAX

In 1893 the Court-of-Wards revised the scale of fees as (illegible) from the settlement report of 1895 :-

For resident black-smith taking charcoal from the jungles 8 annas a year.

For each fishing net dyed in the Garta bark 1 rupee a year.

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42. MARRIAGE TAX

There is no such tax.

43. CANE TAX

Canes growing on waste lands belonging to the Raj are often sold but those growing on raiyati lands are appropriated by the raiyats without any payment.

44. FEATHER TAX

Cranes drop feather in a particular reserved jungle. It is a valuable material which is exported and the right to collect it is let out. There is no illegality in it.

45. COMPULSORY PURCHASE OF PADDY AT HALF THE MARKET RATE

The allegation is :-

"The compulsory purchase of paddy by the chief at half the market price on some pretext."

This is entirely false. There has never been any compulsory purchase of paddy at half the market price. During the recent heavy floods and famine the Raj purchased paddy from the estate as well as from outside the estate for relief work and a fair price was always paid.

46. KHAS POSSESSION OF LANDS FOR FAILURE TO PAY BACK LOANS AND ARREARS OF RENT

The allegation is :-

"Khas possession (without going to court) of lands of those who fail to pay any loan taken from the chief. In the year 1918 alone 1,600

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acres of land have been made Khas in a particular area for failure to pay back loan, rent after three years and transfer fees the last few years."

This is not correct.

There are large areas within the Raj which are lying waste. Some people taking such land for reclamation fail to do so. So they surrender their lands in their own interests and in most cases the arrears are remitted. This means heavy loss to the Raj. A case in point is that of Babu Bhikari Charan Patnaik, Pleader, Cuttack. He took 100 acres of land, the rent fixed being two annas per acre at first, but he voluntarily surrendered it without paying the arrear rents and cesses which amounted to Rs. 239-4-9 and was remitted. Having been covered with jungles again the lands have not yet been re-settled.

47. KHAS POSSESSION OF LANDS OF ANY ONE WHO FAILS TO PAY TRANSFER FEE ON THE DATE OF TRANSFER

This is not correct.

The general rule of transfer of occupancy holdings is not applicable to permanently settled areas. Hence when such lands are purchased without the permission of the Raj the purchaser is treated as a trespasser and the land is taken under direct possession.

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48. KHAS POSSESSION OF LAND OF ANY BODY WHO DIES WITHOUT LEAVING ANY DIRECT HEIR

This is not correct.

In the absence of any heir the land of a deceased raiyat become intestate and revert to the Raj.

49. "TRANSFER FEE IS CHARGED DOUBLE IN CASE ONE FIRST GETS THE LAND REGISTERED AND THEN GOES TO THE CHIEF TO PAY HIS SHARE"

This is not correct.

The principle is that as raiyati holdings are not transferable without previous permission, when a transfer is effected without permission it is within the discretion of the landlord to refuse to recognise it.

50. TRANSFER FEE

The allegations are as follows :-

"General transfer fee was charged at Re. 1 at every transaction till 1912, then 25% of the purchase money. From 1920 either 20% of the purchase money or 6 times the rent of the land purchased whichever is greater. This rule is applicable to ryots. But 9 times the rent is charged from the intermediary tenants i.e. those who possess more than 32 acres of land."

Though Sec. 31 of the Orissa Tenancy Act does not apply to permanently settled areas its principles are followed by the Raj as far as possible. Persons holding more than 33 acres of land are treated as tenure-holders and not as tenants.

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51. FOREST TAX FROM WOMEN

It is alleged as follows :-

"Rs. 1-1-0 as forest tax from any woman who may come to reside after being a widow."

This is most absurd. A fee of Rs. 1-1-0 per annum is charged on persons who are not tenants of the estate but use forest materials.

Sd. **RAMSANKAR RAI,** (Rai Bahadur, Pleader & President, Municipal Board, Cuttack)

Sd. **VISWANATH KAR** (M.L.C.)

Sd. **LAKSHMIDHAR MAHANTY** (M.L.C., Pleader and Vice Chairman, District Board, Cuttack)

Sd. **PARESWAR MAHANTY** (Pleader)

Sd. **SUDAM CHARAN NAYAK** (Rai Bahadur, Retired Asstt. Supdt. of Orissa Tributary States & formerly member of Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council)

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Appendix - 3

PRINTED MATTER COLLECTED FROM THE FILES OF LATE RAJA SAILENDRA NARAYAN BHANJA DEO OF KANIKA

SOME IMPORTANT FACTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE KANIKA MELI

I

Harekrushna Mahtab, Secretary, District Congress Committee, Balasore, (since convicted under Section 108 C.P.C. and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment) issued a leaflet dated the 5th February 1922 in which he said :-

"The Kanika Sarkar thinks that he will obstruct the waves of the non-co-operation movement by stretching out his hand. But be it remembered that the awakening of the people caused by the non-co-operation movement will lower the head, not only of the Kanika Sarkar but also of the Delhi Sarkar. .... Now we are awakened. Let the faint light of the awakening be kept up in our hearts. Eventually it will spread like wild fire grow furious and serve as a guide to many countires."

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II

Ram Das Babaji, one of the persons who started the non-co-operation propaganda in Kanika said as follows in his speech :-

"This sinful oppressive government which has been ruling over India for 200 years has ruined us. Do not trust this sinful satanic government. The Raja of Kanika is a creature of this satanic government and he has been opposing and oppressing non-co-operations in various ways. If you are really Hindus and have got the blood of Aryans, do not be deceived by the satanic government. They are swindlers."

III

Babu Madhusudan Patnaik, Congress worker in charge of Kanika who was one of the principal persons who got up the meli, was bound down under Section 107 C.P.C. for one year and is now in jail put in the following written statement in the case against him (Emperor verses Dinabandhu Khandaitray and others) :

"During the past experience of 18 months in the non-violent non-co-operation movement I have come to conclusion that the people of Orissa are not yet ripe to carry on the sacred movement. I have worked hard with heart within the God overhead and with my utmost capacity but now I see, that he, with whom I had honour and faith has given evidence against me and the people for the benefit of whom I had to suffer so much have confessed that I instructed them to rise against their landlord. I do believe that the people of Orissa

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are not yet ripe for the sacred movement. As regards Kanika, when the tenants had been paying their rents for the last 6 years and when they have suspended their rents this year, it is clearly believed that the all India movement is solely responsible. When I was in the charge of this part of India, I am responsible for the breach of peace. Suffering is the badge of the uplift of a nation's life and the people have not yet learned to suffer. There is no salvation for the nation. So with much deliberation I have now made up my mind to plead guilty. When I see that my energy which is lost during my work of 18 months to improve the social, moral and economical condition of my fellow brethren, I have made to retire from the movement.

IV

Another important document which will throw a flood of light on the meli, which was got up by non-co-operators, is the written statement put in by all the accused in the Jorole case (Emperor versus Uday Naik and others) in which the police had to open fire. It reads as follows :-

"It was at the instigation of non-co-operators that we joined the meli. We had been told by them that the english government would cease to exist shortly, that there would be Swaraj and that no one would have to pay rent or tax. We and other melias believed that the english government had become weak and that the police had no power to fire and that they were carrying guns only to threaten the melias. The melias would not have approached the police with lathis or pelted at them had they known

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that the police would fire. We frankly admit that the melias were entirely responsible for the firing by the police at Jorole on the 23rd April. We can never deny that had not the police shown patience and forbearance. the manner in which the melias came in a body to attack the Superintendent of Police and the Armed Police many men would have been shot dead. It is our good luck that only two men lost their lives and this fact is recognised by the entire body of tenants of Kanika. Our firm conviction is that had not the police fired on the 23rd, the melias would not have restrained themselves and the meli would have assumed a very serious aspect."

V

In the course of his judgement in the case under Section 17, Criminal Law Amendment Act against Ekram Rasool, President, Utkal Provincial Congress Committee and Orissa Provincial Khilafat Committee, Rai Bahadur D. N. Das said as follows regarding the Kanika meli :-

"The most serious consequences that ensued from the mischievous activities of the non-co-operation volunteers were in connection with the rising in Kanika. It will be seen from the deposition of P.W. No. 9 that it was these volunteers who fomented it. In fact one of them namely Madhusudan Patnaik who was one of the non-co-operation workers there came before the court as an accused under Section 107 C.P.C. and admitted in his written statement when the witness was present in court that the meli (rising) was the work of non-co-operators.

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It is also in evidence that five riots were committed in the course of that meli. One of the rioters attacked the Superintendent of Police with a sword. In the course of another riot five persons were forcibly rescued from the custody of the witness who is the Inspector of Police. A large number of rioters about 2000 in number came out to attack the armed police on the 23rd April and it was necessary for the police to fire in order to disperse that unlawful assembly. Besides riots, there were other offences committed by the persons who joined the meli. 172 persons have so far been convicted of different offences in connection with that meli and it has been found necessary to retain the armed police in that disturbed area because some of the non-co-operation volunteers are still at work there.

VI

The Oriya pamphlet "Dukhini Kanika" published by one described as "the arch non-co-operator of Chhamuka (Kanika)", which was intended to excite the tenants of Kanika to combine and rise is commented on as follows in the judgement of the Sub-divisional Magistrate of Bhadrak in a case under Section 107 C.P.C. against some members of the meli :-

"The Raja and his officers stood aloof and displayed commendable forbearance ; the tenants in general would not approve of the mischievous activities of the accused such as proposal to stop payments of rents and the result was that breach of peace was imminent. In another meeting a pamphlet known as "Dukhini Kanika" was read. The author of this booklet is Andi Jena and he along with others of Chhamuka

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attended the meetings in which the principal part was the reading out of the contents of the book to the audience. The police evidence is that the pamphlet contains defamatory allegations and the object and the intention of the publication of the same in the Panchmuka meetings was to create disaffection and hatred in the minds of the tenants of the place towards the Raja. In view of what I have stated above viz. that this mode of attempting to secure removal of grievances however legitimate they may be was wholly opposed to the sense of the major portion of the tenantry. the act was calculated to give rise to one consequence namely breach of peace. It is not open to one to have recourse to wrongful means which might lead to breach of peace under the plea of having his grievances redressed or his wrongs righted. As the intention of those who convened the meetings in which "Dukhini Kanika" was read to excite the majority of the tenants of Panchmuka to break the law or cause a breach of peace or wound the feelings of the Raja and his other tenants, the causing of it to be read amounted to a wrongful act."

Letter dated 26th April, 1922 (3 days after the firing) from Romesh Chandra Jena, Congress worker, Aul, to Secretary, Utkal Provincial Congress Committee.

To the best of my ability I have ascertained that the tenants began all the trouble. At first, the tenants rescued 2 prisoners from police custody. The next day when Mr. Mahapatra went with the armed police they pelted at him and attacked him whereupon Mr. Mahapatra jumped out of his Tamjan and fell into the

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water and mud of a creek. On seeing this they came to attack him so the police fired blank but the tenants became more infuriated and said "The salas have come to threaten us." When they came in close quarters Mr. Mahapatra ordered that one or two should be "seen" on which firing began. At first one man dropped dead and 3 were seriously wounded and they died that day. On seeing this the tenants dispersed and ran away.

JUDGEMENT

Case No. $\frac{803}{12}$ Mis. 1922

Emperor

Versus

(1) Dinabandhu Khandaitray, (2) Ananda Chandra Jena, (3) Sadananda Rasikray, (4) Madhusudan Patnaik, (5) Agani Behera, (6) Radhamohan Mandanrai, (7) Krishna Chandra Mahalla, and (8) Bhagaban Suttar.

SECTION 107 CR. P. C.

FINDING

These are proceedings against these 8 (eight) accused persons under Section 107 Cr. P. C.

The police filed an application for proceedings on 17-4-22 against the above named accused persons and four others who are absconding. The trial of these four has been ordered to be held separately.

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The grounds on which the police application is based are given in their application of 17-4-22 and are 20 in number.

The allegations against these accused persons are that they are leaders of a meli (combination) started some time in January, 1922. It will be seen from the evidence what were the intentions of these leaders. The main objects were (1) to dissuade the tenants from paying to the Raja of Kanika rents and other dues owing to him, (2) to induce people to cut timber from the reserved forest of the estate, (3) to catch fish from Raj tanks, (4) to pluck fruits from the Raja's gardens and topes, (5) to practise mass civil disobedience as propounded by the non-co-operators. These accused persons or most of them are respectable residents of the locality and so great was the influence they wielded that they managed to dupe almost all villagers of 110 villages, mostly all in a portion of the Raj called Chhamuka. The tenantry for the most part are an ignorant lot and it was not difficult to win them over, especially when such a dutiful prospect was placed before them. The result of all this evil preaching was that the tenants actually withheld paying rents direct to the Raja, they caught fish in tanks of several villages and plucked fruits from the Raja's trees and took timber from reserved forests without permission, they also went so far to jungles in certain villages and thus causing loss to the Raj of Kanika. This was not all. It was necessary for Raj peons, Tahasildars and other employees to go to the different villages on estate business. These men were boycotted washerman, barber, bearers were not permitted

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to serve them. Food stuffs were not sold to them and the people went to the length of assaulting them and because these employees would visit the villages, they treated even their co-villagers in the same way if the melias found that they rendered any assistance to these employees.

It should be remembered that these melias were merely conveying out the orders of one or other of the sabhas, that had been started for the carrying on of their propaganda.

Before I deal with the special overt acts against each of these 8 accused persons, I think I should say how this combination came into being. I had no doubt that it had its birth in the non-co-operation movement. One of the accused Madhusudan Patnaik is a non-co-operator.

Sometimes in July or August 1921 these non-co-operators opened an ashram in village Kantapara, which they formally opened by performing a Swaraj Jagya and naming of a banian tree standing near Gandhibata. At this ceremony speeches were delivered (vide evidence of P. W. 1) Madhusudan Patnaik, Jadumani Mangaraj (another non-co-operator) in which they attacked the government and especially with regard to the Raja of Kanika said that the forests could not belong to him as he did not plant the trees nor did he rear the fish and hence should not take forest and fishery dues. At another meeting convened by the two above named non-co-operators on the day of arrest of one Ram Das Babaji another of the brotherhood, Madhusudan and Jadumani addressed the people to the effect that as the people were

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weeping over the loss of the Babaji so would the Raja of Kanika would weep when he found his amla leaving his service, boys leaving his school and his rents remaining unpaid. Immediately after this these two non-co-operators went into the interior and began collecting subscriptions. From these preaches one can clearly see what was their object, it was to prepare the tenant of Kanika for mass civil disobedience, first against their landlord. The leaders of the tenants among whom the 8 accused are counted took up the cue from these non-co-operators and some few months after as I have said before in January, 1922 held a meeting at which it was resolved that tenants should not pay any rent to the Raja. This meeting was presided over by Dinabandhu Khandaitray and Ananda Chandra Jena also addressed it. This meeting of the leading representatives was called the mahasabha and subsequently village sabhas were formed and representatives of these formed themselves into the circle sabhas. These were started apparently to carry on their work more smoothly and conveniently. The mahasabhas made known their decisions to the circle sabha and wishes of the villagers were carried to the mahasabha by the circle Sabha representatives.... At first the mahasabha used to be held at Ayetan, but this village is a busy place, a hat is held there so Meghpur was selected for its meeting for the sake of secrecy. Several meetings of these institutions were held (at which some or all of the accused were present) and as pointed out above, resolutions were passed as to boycott and assault of estate employees, what action should be taken against those mecalcitrant tenants who persisted in

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rendering them any assistance and refusing to join the melias.

The accused deny that meetings were held at which it was decided that rent should not be paid to the Kanika Raj or to the effect the fruit should be looted and fishes caught or timber cut from jungles or people oppressed. There is however sufficient evidence on record to prove the prosecution story. They say that at that first meeting it was simply decided that rent should be paid at the old rates, but they have not rebutted the prosecution evidence which stands unchallenged. The same is the case with regard to their other overt acts to which I shall now refer.

Prosecution allegations are :-

(1) That Jagannath Das was threatened for his refusal to join the meli and that he was excommunicated and that this was done by Dinabandhu, Radhamohan and Bhagaban accused.

(2) One Shyam Panchhimkabat was assualted by the same 3 accused and Krishna Mahalla, Radhamohan, Bhagaban and Agani Behera with some 4 or 500 men drove out and beat Raj employees and also one Dattahari Dakhinray.

(3) That Khetramohan Mangaraj, Bhakta Charan Das and Fakir Charan Pattanaik should be killed for giving evidence in the forest cases and that the threat was held out by Dinabandhu, Radhamohan, Agani, Krishna and also that the same 4 accused and Sadananda threatened Haricharan Das with beating for the same reason.

(4) That on two occasions Khetramohan Mangaraj was threatened and abused by

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Bhagaban and Agani and again on another Krishan Charan Das was intimidated by Radhamohan so that they might leave the village. They are Raj employees.

(5) That certain men Udaynath Biswal, Chema Das, Jasobanta Khatua, Rushi Behera and Purusottam Mohanty were threatened with assault or boycott or with the setting of fire to his house if they did not join the melees and that by Bhagaban, Radhamohan, Agani and Sadananda.

(6) That Nisamani Behera was threatened by Radhamohan, Bhagaban and Agani with boycott for assisting Udaynath Biswal and that Dinabandhu instigated Sujan Jena to forcibly remove Udayanath's two bullocks.

(7) That a fine was imposed on Bhagaban Behera by Krishna Mahalla as he accepted a notice issued by the Raj and Rushi Behera oppressed by Radhamohan for attesting a notice. Then there are other allegations that several people were compelled to give their thumb impressions to join the meli, debtors to swear not to pay dues to non-melias (either money or paddy) to give up serving the Raj as priest, from going to Rajkanika and to pay subscriptions and Suryamani Balabantra was threatened with the looting of his paddy and destruction of his dalua crop as he accepted a Raj notice. Then Bhagaban, Radhamohan and Agani trespassed into the house of Rushi Behera and by their behaviour compelled him to leave with his family. One man Suryamani Balabantra was also made to agree not to disclose the details of a riot that took place at

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Bansiria and also to send a telegram against the Raja of Kanika. All these allegations are amply proved by the prosecution evidence. The state of mind of these melias had been changed to such an extent that they even refused to allow Bhaskar Mahanty to take medicine to the daughter of one Fakir a Raj employee who was ill. The evidence adduced to support these allegations are in my opinion quite sufficient to convince me that preventive action, under Section 107 Cr. P. C. is absolutely necessary. It stands as strong as ever and has not been questioned. There has been no cross examination of the prosecution evidence and no evidence offered by the defence.

I have mentioned above that Madhusudan Pattanaik is a non-co-operator. In his first written statement he denied all the allegations against himself but in the second in a way accepted responsibility for what had occurred in Rajkanika. There can I think be no other view but that the whole situation was brought about by the non-co-operation movement. Search warrants were issued for search of certain ashrams in Bhadrak, Balasore, Kantapara and Satyabadi. Certain documents were found and a reference to them will clearly show that it was for the purpose of getting a hold on the tenants of Kanika that so much interest was taken in giving the amount of attention of Kanika as the non-co-operation leaders did. They especially deputed Ram Das Babaji and two volunteers for work in Kanika (exhibit 15 dated 27-5-1921). Another letter from Atalbehari Acharya, Secretary, District Committee contains a certificate for Madhusudan for the splendid

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work he had done in Kanika. Kanika was always uppermost in their minds. Then there is Post Card 21-4-22 (Ex. 4) from one Ramesh Chandra Jena to Harish Chandra Roy. It contains the following, "Kindly make time to me at 9 O'clock after school hours or is it you would not like to see me on account of the meli or because Madhu and other non-co-operators are at the root of the meli." Then in Ex. 5 we have "As I observe the people (of Chhamuka) have been gaining courage gradually. People are unwilling to render any service to the Raja even if they are paid." Then in Ex. 6 the same writer asks for information as todays on which sabhas are held and he asked that Khandaitray and Pandit arrange a meeting between a certain Wednesday and Saturday. And ends with my respects to the brothers of Chhamuka. Ex. 7 is very important. The same writer again (a N.C.O.) "Got your letter yesterday and came to all, tell Joyram Pandit to see that the meli amongst them is not broken up. If the meli is they will be held responsible for what has been done if not we would reap the result."

Then in a letter from one Radhashyam Ex. 9 from the Swaraj ashram, Chandbali we get ; "The tenants of Chhamuka and Panchmuka have made a strong meli against the Raja's oppression. and with a view to protest" and then an admission comes "I and Madhu are connected in the meli affairs since its inception. In the meanwhile he has gone (been arrested). One cannot imagine the fate of the tenants of the two Mukhas." Then other documents found relate to the alleged grievances of tenants and school boys and of their approaching the Raja

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who, these non-co-operators say, took no note of the grievances.

These are sufficient to show the very intimate connection that the meli had with the non-co-operation movement and that the fate of the latter was bound up with that of the former.

I had to frame a separate set of question for Ananda Chandra Jena. He is accused of joining the other accused in trying to achieve the main objects of leaders of the meli. Further he is accused of advising the driving out of Raj amlas and employees going to Ghariamal and other villages with a large body of men and they are compelling tenants to give thumb impressions and subscriptions, assaulting Khetramohan Mongaraj, oppressing some 7 men Raj employees and others. He denies everything. But there is only this denial in his behalf. The prosecution have adduced people who were so oppressed and others who were eye witnesses and against these there is nothing put forward by Ananda Jena. I must hold him also as one against whom action under Section 107 Cr. C. P. should be taken as I have held against the others. I therefore order that Ananda Chandra Jena is ordered to execute a bond of Rs. 250/- with two surities each in Rs. 150/-. (2) Krishna Chandra Mahalla, (3) Radhamohan Madanrai, (4) Bhagaban Suttar, (5) Agani Behera are each ordered to execute a bond of Rs. 400/- each with two surities of Rs. 200/- (6) Madhusudan Patnaik to execute a bond of Rs. 500/- with two surities each of Rs. 250/- (7) Dinabandhu Khandaitray (8) Sadananda Rasikray each a bond of Rs. 700/- with two surities of Rs. 350/- each all

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to keep the peace for a period of one year in default S. I. for the same period.

Raj Kanika — **Sd. H. Van Griecken**
2-6-22 — Magistrate 1st Class

JUDGEMENT

Emperor

Versus

(1) Purnananda Routray, (2) Upendra Mangaraj, (3) Maguni Behera, (4) Pranakrishna Behera, (5) Rama Behera, (6) Sridhar Naik, (7) Trilochan alies Tila Behera, (8) Lambodar Mahapatra.

UNDER SECTION 147 I.P.C.

The case for the prosecution briefly is : The tenants of several villages within the jurisdiction of Kanika Raj, made a combination against the Raj withholding payment of rents, threatening and intimidating the Raj officials, and servants and thwarting them whenever possible in carrying out their lawful duties. The melias i.e. the refractory tenants were chiefly misguided and misled by the inflamatory speeches and instigation of some non-co-operators from outside the area, who were spreading discontent and dissensions far and wide. The melias were doing acts of violence against the loyal tenants refusing to join them in their common cause. The village Bansaria was made one of the centres. Early in May last they were engaged in such acts of harrassment to the loyal tenants as well as falling upon Raj servants wherever opportunity occured. One Jasobanta

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Naik and Dattahari Dakhinraj Gomastas of the Raj were stationed at Bansaria with peons Jagu Mohanty, Hari Singh, Mozafar Ali to watch the doings of the melias and if possible to render help to loyal tenants. On 9-4-22 the Raja's Gomastas and peons apprehended violence on them by the melias and applied to Manager, Kanika Raj for reinforcement and eventually nine more peons were sent. On 10th at midnight about 300 melias headed by Maguni Dafadar, Lambodar Mahapatra and Purnananda Rautray came to the spot, assaulted the Raj servants and drove them away from the house. Eight of the melias including the three named above have been sent up for trial under Section 147 I.P.C.

2. The prosecution examine 16 witnesses. A summary of their evidence is given below. P.W.1 is Babu Joyram Das, Manager, Kanika Raj. On 10-4-22 one of the assaulted peons Jagu Mohanty came and informed him of the occurrence showing the marks of the injuries on his person. He sent him to police officer in charge of police station with a letter, Ex. 1. Jagu Mohanty P.W.2 gives a detailed account of the occurrence. He says he and other Raj servants were sleeping in the house, two were sleeping in the verandha. At midnight Maguni Daffadar accused No. 3 came there apparently with the motive of ascertaining the strength of the Raj people. He entered the house and had a friendly chat with peon Hari Singh, took betels from him and then left him casting further glance at all corners to see how many Raj people were there and what their weapons were. About one hour after, he returned to the

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spot with the other accused and about 300 more men. They abused the manager and peons and asked the people there to vacate at once. The Raj people said they would go the next day as it was already passed midnight then. But the mob would not listen, Maguni Behera entered the house broke the lantern and pushed out one by one all the Raj people, handing them over to the mob outside who were assaulting them and forcibly removing them from the place. Those peons sleeping outside were already hammered and removed. P. W. 3 Dattahari Dakhinrai is the Moharir of the Kanika Raj. He corroborates the above and says that the melias were all armed with lathis. He was assaulted by Lambodar, Sudhakar Swain, Daitari and Rama Behera. Uday gave a lathi blow on his head, when he sat down and his son and his servant carried him away. He was bleeding and the blood-stained cloth is exhibit 1. He was under the treatment of the local doctor. P.W.4 Hari Singh was also one of the injured peons of the Raj. He fully corroborates the prosecution case. P.W.5-7, Raj peons, do the same. P.W.8 is another Moharir of the Raja was also assaulted and he shows signs of the injuries. P.W.9-14 are outsiders who were attracted to the spot by the noise, they faithfully bear out the fact as stated by other witnesses. They prove also that within attempts to rise against the Kanika Raj, the melias were aided and abetted by non-co-operators, and had a meeting shortly before the occurrence, at Aul where they were sumptously fed by the proprietor. P.W.15 and 16 testify to these facts. It further appears that the accused set fire to hut to fabricate evidence.

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3. The evidence of these witnesses coming from different quarters stands absolutely unrebutted, specially as they were not cross-examined by the defence, nor was any defence witness cited to contradict or rebut any portion of the evidence which was without any discrepancy or contradiction in itself as a whole. Thus apart from the confession of the accused persons, I find the evidence strong enough to warrant a conviction. I am further satisfied that some non-co-operators incited the people directly and indirectly by their speeches and action to acts of violence and lawlessness.

The element came in unsuspected, at a time when peace and tranquility reigned in the area and tried their level best to subvert the established order of things by influencing the poor, ignorant mass with false rumours, and holding out utopian hopes. The accused persons plead guilty and do not adduce any evidence and express their sincere regret at what they have done at the instigation of the non-co-operators, and undertake not to misbehave in that way in future, and they throw themselves unconditionally at the mercy of the court.

4. I accordingly find all the accused guilty under Section 147 I.P.C. i.e. rioting with the common object of assaulting and turning out the Raj peons. It was of course a cold-blooded and unprovoked attack at the dead of night at a number of peaceful peons sleeping innocently in their house, but in view of the penitent attitude of the accused I am inclined to deal leniently with them. Purnananda Routra and Lambodar Mahapatra are president of the unions and Maguni Behera is a Dafadar. It was

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clearly their duty to keep peace and order but instead they have broken deliberately. I sentence each of them to undergo R.I. for six months. I sentence Upendra Mangaraj and Rama Behera the next prominent persons in the crime to undergo R.I. for four months each. The other three accused Pranakrishna Behera, Sridhar Naik and Trilochan alias Tila Behera who played only the second feedle, to undergo R.I. for one month each.

Sd. A.M. Ray
D.M., 2-6-22

JUDGEMENT

Emperor

Versus

(1) Purnananda Jena, (2) Haladhar Jena, (3) Bisikar Naik, (4) Jogi Behera, (5) Lakhan Biswal, (6) Chuni Naik, (7) Mule Behera, (8) Chemai Suttar, (9) Suryamoni Biswal, (10) Hari Samal, (11), Laban Samal, (12) Kambhu Behera, (13) Kali Behera, (14) Prabhakar Behera, (15) Dhurba Behera, (16) Moni Behera, (17) Kanhu Behera, (18) Rupa Behera, (19) Aparti Bal, (20) Bikal Jena, (21) Krushna Naik.

UNDER SECTION 325, 147 I.P.C.

The case for the prosecution is. There was a money-decree by the Munsiff's court at Kendrapara, against two brothers Purnananda Jena and Padan Jena of Patarpur, in favour of decree-holder Jagabandhu Misra of Rajnagar, both villages within the jurisdiction of Aul

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Police Station. On 18-4-22 a civil court peon named Shaikh Yasin proceeded to Patarpur with a Parwana from the court for service on the judgement debtors. Some servants of the Rajkanika and decree-holder accompanied the peon for the purpose of indentifying the judgement-debtors and their houses. The reason why the Raj peons took part in it is that the father of the minor decree-holder was, sometime ago, murdered by his debtors and thence forward his property came to be looked after the superior landlord, Rajkanika on behalf of the minor.

2. The party of the civil court peon reached the house of the I.D. Purnananda Jena and Padan Jena at Patarpur on 18-4-22 at 11 A.M. About 50 men assembled there seeing the party. The peon Yasin, asked the Kanika Raj peon Udaynath Das, and the D.H.'s servant Narayan Sahu to identify the judgement debtors and their houses. Puna and Padan thereupon abused the indentifiers. By this time the mob swelled to the extent of four to five hundred. As soon as Narayan Sahu pointed out the houses of the judgement-debtors to the C.C. peon Purnananda Jena kicked Narayan Sahu, others of the mob assaulted him and dragged him away, Padan Jena then attacked Udaynath Das and dealt a serious blow on his left arm with lathi, fracturing it, Purnananda, Hari Samal, Chuin Naik, Kali Behera, Haladhar Jena then joined the assault on Udaynath. The civil court peon fled away, as well as other of his party. Udaynath was bleeding profusely. His blood-stained cloths were snatched away by Purnananda for the express purpose of destroying

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a valuable piece of evidence against Purnananda. By and by all the men of the peon's party were assaulted in turn. They were carried to Raj Kanika where they laid information before the S.P. of police who happened to be there at that time. Twentyone persons of the mob were subsequently arrested and sent up for trial.

3. Of the 21 accused Purnananda Jena who fractured the left arm of Udaynath was charged under Section 325 I.P.C and 147 I.P.C and the rest charged under Section 147 I.P.C i.e. with rioting with the common object of assaulting the peons and using violence towards them in prosecution of that common object. The prosecution examined 12 witnesses consisting of the civil court peon, the Rajkanika peon, some outsiders and the medical officer who examined the injured persons. The evidence as a whole rather bristles with too many names of persons forming the mob, who failed from different villages combining against the Kanika Raj, and to overthrow the authorities constituted by law. But the following points seem to have very clearly established by all the witnesses, without any contradiction and discrepancy.

(a) That there was a Parwana against the judgement debtors Purnananda Jena and Padan Jena, and the civil court peon Shaikh Yasin tried to serve on them with identifiers Udaynath Das and Narayan Sahu, and some Rajkanika peons name Haidar Khan, Sama Mohanty and others, and that all these excepting the civil court peon were assaulted by the judgement debtors and a mob consisting about 500 men.

(b) That Udaynath Das was severely assaulted by the accused persons specially by Purnananda

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Jena who fractured his left arm by a lathi blow and that he was carried in a Sika-bari (rope-conveyance) to Rajkanika hospital where he was detained for about a month for treatment and that his arm is still in a bad condition.

(c) That Narayan Sahu a servant of Jagabandhu Misra went with the peon for identification and he was assaulted by the accused so severely that he lay unconscious on the spot for sometime, till Moni Rout and Ratnakar Biswal restored him senses after administering water and etc. He managed to crawl to village Bajipur and spent the whole night under a tree there, as the people were generally afraid of offering shelter to a man not belonging to the melias (or the tenants combining against Rajkanika).

Thence shortly afterwards he was carried in a cart to Rajkanika hospital and detained there for treatment (P.W.2).

(d) That the injured persons were refused shelter by the villagers for fear of incurring displeasure and vengeance of the melias. (P.W.3).

(e) That all the peons of Rajkanika and the servants of the deçree-holder who accompanied the peons were assaulted by the mob, chiefly by the accused persons, though less severely than mentioned in the foregoing paras.

(f) That the mob consisted of men from villages, Joykunda, Patarpur, Dahanigiri, Biradia, Dhamara, Jharamal, Bijipur, etc. and that the all had a preconcreted and *premeditated plan to thwart and harass the constitutional authorities.*

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(g) The question of identification of the accused was established.

4. The medical officer of Kanika is P.W.12. He describes in detail the injuries he found on the persons of these assaulted. He describes the fracture of Udaynath's arm as a grivous hurt. He treated Udaynath as an indoor patient for one month and thinks that it must tale a considerable time more for the arm to be restored to former usefulness.

5. The above evidence stands clear and unrebutted as a whole. There is no material discrepancy or contradiction. The P.W.s were not cross examined, nor the defence adduced any evidence on their behalf. Thus in view of the corroborated and consolidated evidence for the prosecution it is difficult to think otherwise of the case than what has been brought to light by the prosecution. The accused persons have pleaded guilty to the charge.

6. It appears to me that in the disturbed area within the Rajkanika estate, the tenants have made a combination not to pay rent to the Raj, and to harass the officials and to assault the peons where ever possible and practicable. They were misguided and misled by the fiery speeches and propaganda work of some non-co-operators who are busily engaged from the distant part to work on the minds of the ignorant massholding out to their views bright utopian theories of Swaraj liberty non-payment of rent and taxes, etc.

7. It is however fortunate that the accused have repented and realised their mistake. They have all pleaded guilty to the charge and have

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thrown themselves to the mercy of the court. It is for this reason that I deal with them rather liniently except Purnananda Jena who is the ring-leader of the mob and who broke Udaynath's hand. Of other accused persons I have some doubt about the actual workings of the four old men—No. 7 Muli Baliarai, No. 13 Kali Behera, No. 17 Kanhu Behera, No. 19 Aparti Bal and I let them off leniently. I find Purnananda Jena guilty under Section 325 I.P.C and Section 147 I.P.C. On the former count I sentence him to undergo R.I. for one year and on the latter to R.I. for six months. The sentence to run concurrently. The four accused named above i.e. Muli Baliara, Kali Behera, Kanhu Behera and Aparti Bal are found by me guilty under Section 147 I.P.C and on account of their old age and inability sentence each to pay a fine of Rs. 25/- each in default to undergo R.I. for one month. The remaining 16 accused are found guilty by me under Section 147 I.P.C. and sentenced each to undergo R.I. for two months.

Sd. A. M. Ray
D.M. 2-6-22

JUDGEMENT

Emperor

Versus

(1) Purnananda Jena, (2) Prabhakar Swain, (3) Ekadasi Jena, (4) Banamali Barik, (5) Sama Swain, (6) Kapil Naik, (7) Binei Mathan, (8) Kanu Biswal, (9) Rupa Bal, (10) Bhagaban Behera, (11) Dinabandhu Behera, (12) Kali Biswal, (13) Ratnakar Naik, (14) Mani Dalapatira,

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(15) Daitari Rath, (16) Basu Naik, (17) Gobinda Padhan, (18) Narahari Rai, (19) Sunakar Guru, (20) Dussasan Mal, (21) Ramhari Padhan, (22) Nidhi Naik, (23) Biro Joti, (24) Bhabagrahi Behera, (25) Maguni Malik, (26) Panu Rout, (27) Dadhi Rout, (28) Jogi Behera, (29) Panu Behera, (30) Aparti Bal, (31) Laban Samal, (32) Kali Behera, (33) Mani Behera, (34) Krushna Naik, (35) Dhruba Behera, (36) Satrughan Swain, (37) Sudhakar Naik, (38) Hari Samal, (39) Prabasi Naik, (40) Nari Das, (41) Ratan Naik, (42) Atanga Behera, (43) Maguni Behera, (44) Bhikari Padhan, (45) Udaikar Naik, (46) Ram Naik, (47) Chintamoni Padhan, (48) Prabhakar Behera(1), (49) Mana Rout, (50) Dhusei Behera, (51) Narain Sahu, (52) Dama Behera, (53) Nisamani Behera, (54) Kandur Rout, (55) Mali Behera, (56) Sunakar Mahunt, (57) Bhagabat Karan, (58) Brund Biswal, (59) Bhaban Padhan, (60) Rupa Samal, (61) Chintamani Mal, (62) Maguni Samal, (63) Sama Dakhinrai, (64) Prabhakar Behera(2), (65) Mayadhar Behera, (66) Bhaig Pallai.

Section 147 I.P.C.

The case for the prosecution briefly is :-

In the jurisdiction of the Kanika Raj there had been a combination amongst the tenants, chiefly at the instigation, speeches and propaganda work of some irresponsible non-co-operators. The tenants were doing several overt acts, with holding payment of rent, assaulting the Raj officers and peons, intimidating loyal tenants and using violence to persons not joining them in their insurrection against the authorities. There were several rioting cases in the area.

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one of them being that committed by the tenants of Patarpur on 18-4-22. The investigating police consisting of Inspector Babu Jnanendranath Chatterji, S.I.M. Ahmad Bux, one head-constable, 4 armed constables and two drummers and two peons of the Rajkanika went to Patarpur on 20-4-22, in the morning for holding a local enquiry into the rioting case there. They found the village almost deserted, all houses locked up from outside, and no adult male could be found there. Some houses, though locked had females and children inside. After a deligent search the police succeeded in arresting 5 men named, 1. Bisikar Naik, 2. Jogi Behera, 3. Lakhan Biswal, 4. Haladhar Jena, 5. Chemei Sutar.

2. With these arrested persons in custody the police force was returning to their quarters at Ayatan at 11 A.M. They had just left Patarpur and were proceeding towards Dahanigiri when they noticed a mob consisting of about 700 men collecting in the lowlands of the village, on the eastern outskirts. People were still rushing in from all directions armed with lathis etc., till the mob swelled to the extent of about 2000 men. They then began to move towards the police and the prisoners in custody, coming from the opposite direction. The mob assumed a threatening attitude, and were brandishing lathis and shouting cries of defiance. When within half a furlong of the mob, the Inspector and S.I. ordered halt for the armed police and themselves proceeded to speak to the mob and pacify them. The mob demanded immediate and unconditional release of the five persons in custody and while the

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parties were thus engaged, the mob completely surrounded the police officers, as well as the rear party, cutting of chances of communication between the officers and the constables and thus the officers could not pass orders to the armed constables. The mob then asked the Inspector and the S.I. to release the prisoners. The officers intimated their inability to do so on the ground of illegality and advise them to keep quiet and disperse. But the mob paid no heed and pushing aside the armed constables, rescued the five prisoners and disperse in all directions.

3. Sixtysix men of the mob, mentioned in page 1, were subsequently arrested and sent up for trial under Section 147 I.P.C.

4. The prosecution examined 11 witnesses. A summary of their evidence is given below. The S.I.M Ahmad Bux gives a vivid description of the occurence as stated in paras 1, 2 and says that as the 5 arrested persons could not furnish security or bail, he was compelled to retain them in custody. He mentions the fact that some people of the mob assaulted them P.W.2 Raghunath Singh, an armed police constable corroborates the S.I. as well as the other armed constables P.W.2-5. The inspector P.W.6 while giving a similar description of the occurence mentions that the mob threatened to restrain the police force unless the prisoners were released and that some men of the mob chased him and he was compelled to fly away. P.W.7, 9 are local chowkidars accompanied the police force. P.W.8 is a peon of the Rajkanika, P.W. 10 is the drummer who accompanied the inspector and P.W. 11 is an outsider. They have

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all faithfully corroborated the prosecution story, without the least discrepancy. There was hardly any cross-examination of the P.W. 6 and the accused persons did not examine any witness in their favour. Thus the facts represented by the prosecution stand fully corroborated and unrebutted.

5. The defence puts in a written statement signed by all the accused to the effect that they all plead guilty to the charge under Section 147 I.P.C, and that they were instigated and misguided by non-co-operators, that they are sorry for their action and throw themselves on the marcy of the court.

6. The question of identification presented some difficulty in a strange area it would heardly be possible to recognise persons in a huge mob, but it was rendered clear by their own admission. It appears to me that these illiterate and stupid people of the lowest class of society had been deliberately misguided by non-co-operators from outside, and incited overt acts, which resulted in crimes against tranquility, law and order. The mob consisted of irresponsible and ignorant people who hardly had the understanding to realise the gravity of their offence. I find practically the following persons of very old and tender ages, weal and imbecile and idiotic mixed up in the mob. They were quite incapable of understanding the nature of their offence and of their confession before me.

Accd. Nos. 3 Ekadasi Jena, 9. Rupa Bal, 19. Sunakar Guru, 20. Dussasan Mal, 46. Ram Naik, 51. Narain Sahu, were boys. Nos. 29.

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Panu Behera, 30. Aparti Bal, 32. Kali Behera, 44. Bhikari Padhan, 50. Dhusei Behera, 55. Mali Behera and 63. Samo Dakhinrai old and imbecile and quite idiots. These 13 persons, I give the benefit of doubt and acquit them under Section 258 Cr. P. C.

7. I find all the other 53 accused persons named in pages 1 and 2 and with the exceptions noted in the foregoing para, guilty under Sec. 147 I.P.C. in view of the fact that they are really penitent and with little understanding, and that they were misled by non-co-operators and used as blend weapons. I deal generally with them leniently. The ring-leader Purnananda Jena deserves somewhat examplary punishment. I sentence him to undergo R. I. for six months. Next to him come in respect of activity in the crime as specially identified by the witnesses and mentioned in the F.I.R. No. 2 Prabhakar Swain, 31. Laban Samal, 35. Dhurba Behera, 38. Hari Samal. I sentence each of these four persons to undergo R.I. for 3 months. The rest 48 accused are sentenced each to undergo R.I. for one month.

Sd. A. M. Roy
D.M. 2-6-22

JUDGEMENT

Emperor

Versus

(1) Surjamoni Suttar, (2) Sudarson Dhal, (3) Nityananda Suttar, (4) Mohini Dhal.

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SECTION 148 I.P.C.

The case for the prosecution is :- On the 23-4-22 the Superintendent of Police, Cuttack, was going to Patarpur at 8 A. M. with a police force for investigating into a rescue case there ; while at Ayatan villages, on their way they found a mob of 70 or 80 persons armed with sword, lathis, etc. and collected at the house of accused No. 1 Surjamoni Suttar. They were shouting in a threatening attitude at the police and when the latter approached them the mob began to throw brickbats at the police force. The S.I. ordered the mob to disperse but they refused to stir when the S.P. ordered the constables to arrest them, when they began to disperse in all directions, about 10 or 15 entered the house of Surjamoni Suttar and the police entered the compound of Surjamoni to arrest them. Just then Surjamoni came out with a sword to attack the S.P. A constable, Kamala Prasad Panda, pushed aside the S.P. in order to divert the attack of Surjamoni and eventually succeeded in snatching away the sword from the hand of Surjamoni, and made it over to inspector babu Jnanendranath Chatterjee. Then the four accused were arrested. The mother of Surjamoni came out with a knife in her hand, which also was snatched away by the constable. The knife and the sword are exhibits 1 and 11. The four accused, Surjamoni Sutar, Sudarsan Dhal, Nityananda Suttar, and Mohini Dhal were then sent up for trial under Sec. 148 I.P.C.

2. Kamala Prasad Panda the constable proves the above facts and is fully corroborated by the inspector babu Jnanendranath Chatterjee.

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He says that the mob began to disperse only when the police force charged at them, when a certain number of the mob took shelter in the house of Surjamoni and his brother Bhagaban Suttar. The former came out with a sword for attacking the S.P. but constable Kamala Prasad Panda averted the blow of the sword and snatched it away. P. Ws. 3 to 7 faithfully corroborate the above facts. The S. P.'s lengthy evidence is very clear and convincing. All the facts put forward by the prosecution have been fully corroborated by him. It is absolutely reliable and truthful.

3. Thus the evidence for the prosecution is clear, convincing and absolutely unrebutted. The accused persons did not cross examine the P. Ws. nor cali any witness in their favour. They all pleaded guilty to the charge under Sec. 148 I.P.C. framed against them and say that they were misled by non-co-operators. They express the sincere regret at what they have done, and throw themselves unconditionally on the mercy of the court.

4. As to the evidence for the prosecution I have already stated that it stands fully corroborated & unrebutted. Thus apart from the confession of the accused persons, the evidence is sufficient to warrant conviction in this case. The offence was a serious one, and I believe the non-co-operators are indirectly responsible for it as it was through their instrumentality, speeches, propaganda work, etc. That the poor, innocent mass were goaded to act of violence and lawlessness. In view of the fact that the accused have come to their senses and sincerely regret their action, I am rather inclined to deal with them liniently.

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5. I accordingly find all the accused guilty under Section 248 I.P.C. The action of Surjamoni Sutar is highly reprehensive and I sentence him to undergo R.I. for one year. The others acted as second fiddles to him and I sentence each of them to undergo R.I. for three months.

Sd. A. M. Roy
D.M. 2-6-22

JUDGEMENT

Emperor

Versus

(1) Udaynath Naik, (2) Dasa Behera, (3) Kunja Behera, (4) Fakir Behera, (5) Ratha Naik, (6) Khetrabasi Rout, (7) Maijar Sah, (8) Banamali Karan, (9) Budhi Bal, (10) Fakir Behera, (11) Nidhi Barik, (12) Ananta Mallick, (13) Chuor Naik, (14) Jagu Rout, (15) Sonai Naik, (16) Lakhimdhar Behera, (17) Rama Naik, (18) Sudai Biswal, (19) Anam Rout, (20) Sananda, (21) Jagu Mallick, (22) Dibakar Rout, (23) Bisun Mallick, (24) Maguni Behera, (25) Chemai Kund, (26) Sudhi Lenka, (27) Jagabandhu Baral, (28) Maguni Biswal, (29) Nari Das, (30) Ghanashyam Bal, (31) Srikrishna Bal, (32) Bhagaban Bal.

All the 32 accused persons have been charged under Sec. 147 I.P.C. i.e. in the rioting the common object being the assaulting the police and the rescue of the prisoners who are in police custody.

The occurrence took place on the 23rd April sometime in the afternoon about 3 O'clock.

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Before coming to the occurrence in question I think, it will be well to refer to couple of incident that happens some days prior to the 23rd April and to certain youths that led up to the rioting in point. On the 18th April a civil court peon went to serve a notice on certain judgement debtors. Jagabandhu Misra was the decree holder. The man who identified the judgement debtor and others who accompanied him were attacked by the melias and severely assaulted. A case of rioting was started against them. The Inspector of Police and the S.I., Aul investigated this case and made certain arrests. On the 21st April while they were returning from Patarpur with the prisoners a mob of melias attacked the police party and rescued the prisoners and this inspite of the fact that the inspector had an armed guard with him. The inspector wired to the Supdt. of Police (the telegram in Ex. 4) who arrived here on the night of the 22nd April. On the morning of the 23rd he went to Chalunia and from there took an armed guard of 25 constables, the Inspector of Police, the two S. P. Is and some Raj employees to show him the way. He started about 8 A.M. his intention being to go to Patarpur in connection with the case of rescue of prisoners from police custody. Now came the events of the day. On the way he received certain information about the overt acts contemplated by the melias and also that a crowd had gathered at Ayetan to attack the police. Well the party proceeded and near Ayetan the S. P. tells us he noticed some men in a field making gestures at the police and that one of them had a sword in his hand on approaching the house of one Bhagaban Sutar it was found that there was a large crowd

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who apparently were awaiting the arrival of the police. The men were all armed with lathis were shouting and were whirling their lathis round and seemed to be very defiant. He and his men ordered them to disperse but would not and cried out louder, abused the police and began to jeer at them. Seeing this he ordered his men to arrest the offenders. The police chased, the mob dispersed scattering in different directions and some of them entered the house of Bhagawan Suttar. In the house four men were arrested. One of them, Surjamoni Sutar struck at the S.P. with a sword but the blow was warded off by one of the armed constables. The police went on towards Khandaita and on the way the S.P. noticed men streaming from all directions towards Meghapur. He decided to change his course, because of the information he had received in the morning regarding the intentions of the melias (one of which was to raid and wreck the Raja of Kanika's palace) and very probably to keep an eye on this crowd. Then the police had not gone far, somewhere between Khandaita and Meghapur when two large mob encountered them, these were also armed with lathis, which the men brandished, were shouting and yelling, throwing brickbats and demanding the release of the men arrested by the police (the four men seized in the house of Bhagawan Sutar of Ayeten) and trying to start a conflict with the police. They were warned to disperse but did not, the only thing they did was to retire on the advance of the police, but only to return on the police turning their backs. The police went on through Meghapur and then it was noticed that a crowd of about 1000 (some of the witnesses estimate

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it at 1500 and 2000) was steadily approaching.These men were also armed with lathis and S.P. judged from their attitude that they meant to attack the police.

I think it would not be out of place to mention here that I am convinced that the men comprising these different mobs had not come together by mere chance. The men assemble at the direction of the leaders of the meli one of them being Chintamoni Kabivusan and they came together for a definite object to attack the police and the Raja's men. Information had somehow been obtained that the police and certain Raj employees were coming and leaders sent round messengers from the morning calling the men out to go and attack the police and as some of the accused (I shall specify them later) say simply to drive them back, but I think the mob meant to do a good deal of more than that of only we refer to that part of the evidence not only of the S.P. (P. W. No. 2p) (but to evidence of others P.Ws. 1 and 3 as well) that the accused Udaynath Naik was in the front rank beating his breasts and making gestures with his hands that he would cut us to pieces. Of course some of the accused (11,12, 14 and 18) say that the police and Raj men were to be driven back because they had come to loot, but this I cannot believe.

Well to confine the prosecution story to the end, when the S.P. noticed this mob of 1000 men and being of the opinion that they were bent on attacking the police, he ordered his men to come out into the fields as he thought there might arise the necessity to fire on the crowd, but before he had ordered the mob

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several times to disperse and before he found that his orders were disobeyed. Apparently this move of the police was interpreted as one of retreat. So the mob came on yelling and shouting, throwing brickbats and jeering and when the S.P. found it rapidly advancing on the police force he warned the crowd that he would fire. The people in the crowd simply shouted that the salas were only threatning that they were Basara Coolies and had not the power to fire. The S.P. finding them quite close (we have the distances from other witnesses, some 50 to 60 cubits) he ordered a section of the men to fire buck shot but this had no effect, again buck shots were fired and some he says were hit but still the mob would not disperse. They still kept coming on shouting "It is all Phika and throwing Sulas". He then ordered the firing of ball. When this was done one man dropped instantly and then only died the crowd disperse in hot haste. They were persued by the constables and six men were arrested, accused Udaynath Naik, Fakir Behera, Kunja Behera, Dasa Behera, Khetrabasi Rout and Ratha Naik, it was subsequently found that another man had been badly hit with buck shot and died from the effect of the injuries. These two men were Bisun Maruhal and Basu Sethy. Some other men were struck with pellects and were treated at the Chandbali dispensary. The Sub. Assistant Surgeon (P.W. 19) has been examined and he proves this from his outdoor and indoor registers and he also identified these men, Major Sah, Chin Naik, Banamali Karan, Budhi Bal, Nidhi Barik and Fakir Behera. There are same discrepancies on certain minor points as to number of mobs encountered that day and

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where some say that blank cartridges were also fired, but we heard it from the S.P. and the constables who were in the know that no blank was fired that day as to the discrepancies regarding the number of mobs encountered and where in the evidence of some of the constables, these must be expected and moreover are not material as the occurrence took place when the last mob was met and on this the evidence for the prosecution is solid. Then who have no knowledge of the locality cannot be expected to be precise on points of this nature.

As I have said above the prosecution evidence as to what took place on the field in Joral at about 2 or 3 P. M. remains absolutely unshaken. The mob came (some 1000 strong) with lathis shouting, jumping, like wrestlers, jeering and brandishing their lathis at the police and one at least threatened that the police would be cut up. It is also in evidence that brickbats were thrown at the police. They were warned to disperse but would not, they were threatened to be fired on, but this produced no effect not even did the firing of buck shot produce any. The firing of ball did have the desired effect.

To sum up the evidence to prove the above is ample and absolutely convincing. It has not been challenged by the accused, not a single witness has been examined and no rebutting evidence has been offered. The only point for determination is, were all the accused members of that unlawful assembly ? If not all, then which of them were ?

After the charge under Sec. 147 had been framed against the accused, it was read over

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and explained to them and each of them was asked if he was guilty or not guilty.

Of the 32 accused persons the following pleaded guilty. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8. 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 28 and 29.

The other 13 pleaded not guilty. I have given the numbers inform statement of accused used for each accused and the same numbers are given them at the head of the judgement.

In their statements however 17 put forward the plea of alibi. No. 3 says he was standing near his door and was seized by a constable.

No. 2 says he was running through the village with a lathi and was arrested.

No. 4 says he was sutting thorny plants, saw a crowd and stood up when the gun was fired to see what had happened and was caught.

No. 5 that he was caught while on his way to purchase handies.

No. 6 that he was going by Joral and was caught just as he hid himself, after seeing a mob armed with lathis.

No. 9 a mere boy and one who was struck by some of the pellets, says he was standing watching, near the mob and was struck.

As regards those 6 accused who were arrested on the spot we have the evidence of the constables who arrested them and also that of the other police officers. Then other witnesses who saw accused in the mob viz.

All witnesses except P.W. 19 saw accused No. 1.

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All witnesses except Nos. 1, 3, 8, 10. 11, 12, 13, 14 and 19, saw No. 2.

All witnesses except Nos. 7, 8, 10, 11 and 19, saw No. 3. Moreover he pleaded guilty.

All witnesses except Nos. 3, 10, 11 and 19, saw No. 4. He also plead guilty.

All witnesses except Nos. 1. 7. 10, 11 and 12. saw No. 5. P. Ws Nos. 1. 2, 14, 17. saw No. 6.

All except Nos. 1, 4, 11, 12. 13 and 18, saw No. 7 but he admitted and pleaded guilty.

P.Ws. Nos. 4 & 8 implicate accused No. 8. He admitted and pleaded guilty.

Accused No. 9 was one of those who was struck with shot and he was seen by No. 8.

Accused No. 10 admitted and pleaded guilty and he was seen by No. 14. He was struck by buck shot.

P. Ws. 7, 8 and 18 implicate accused No. 11. He was struck but shot. He pleaded guilty and also admitted.

Accused No. 12 pleaded guilty and admitted. He was shot. He was seen by all witnesses except P.Ws Nos. 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12 and 13.

Accused No. 13 admits and also pleads guilty. He was seen by all witnesses except 6, 7, 8, 11, 12 and 18.

No. 14 Jagu Rout was seen by P. W. No. 6. He admits and pleads guilty.

No. 15 accused is not mentioned by any one but he pleads guilty.

No. 16 was seen by P. W. No. 1 the special S.I. only.

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No. 17 was seen by no one. He however pleads guilty.

No. 18 was seen by P. W. No. 1 only. He pleads guilty.

No. 19 was seen by P.Ws. Nos. 1 and 7. He pleads guilty.

No one saw accused No. 20 but he pleads guilty. Only P. W. No. 6 saw accused No. 21.

P. W. No. 1 saw accused No. 22. He pleads guilty. Accused No. 23 by P.Ws 19, 14. He pleads guilty. No. 24 seen by all witnesses except 1, 2, 4, 7. No. 25 seen by S.I.P.W. 1 and also by P.W. No. 14.

No. 26 seen by P. W. 14. He pleads guilty.

No. 27 seen by all except No. 3 and 6.

No. 28 seen by P. W. No. 6. He pleads guilty.

No. 29 seen by all except 1, 7, 8, 10 and 11. He pleads guilty.

No. 30 seen by all except 2, 8, 10, 14 and 18.

No. 31 implicated by 4, 6, 10, 11, 14 and 18.

No. 32 implicated by 4, 6, 11, 14 and 18.

As regards No. 30 another significant fact which points to the probability of their being in the crowd is a statement made by accused to the effect that people were called to the house of Khandaitra. Now these three are sons and 2 nephews of a leader of the melias. The people were asked to assemble at Bortoni and it is evidence that a large crowd came from that village. It is not unlikely that these three would be in the mob and not as ordinary melias. In

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the matter of indentification I have excluded evidence of the armed constables except as regards those accused whom constables arrested, immediately after the occurence.

To sum up I find the following accused guilty under Sec. 147 I.P.C. i.e. rioting the common object being to assault the police and rescue prisoners in their custody.

1. Udaynath Naik, 2. Dasa Behera, 3. Kunja Behera, 4. Fakir Behera, 5. Ratha Naik, 6. Khetrabasi Rout, 7. Major Sah, 8. Banamali Karan, 9. Budhi Bal, 10. Fakir Behera, 11. Nidhi Barik, 12. Ananta Mallick, 13. Chuin Naik, 14. Jagu Rout, 15. Sanai Naik, 16. Rama Naik, 17. Sudhi Biswal, 18. Anam Rout, 19. Sananda Bhunihar, 20. Dibakar Rout, 21. Bisun Mallick, 22. Maguni Behera, 23. Dadhi Lenka, 24. Jagabandhu Baral, 25. Nari Das, 26. Ghanashyam Bal, 27. Srikrishna Bal, 28. Bhagaban Bal, 29. Maguni Biswal.

The learned public prosecutor has put in a petition in which he states that he does not press the charge against Srikrishna Bal, Bhagawan Bal and Budhi Bal in consideration of the tender age youth and in experience of these three. I grant the application and while finding them guilty think it sufficient to just warn and discharge them.

Owing to the scanty evidence against three of the accused Lakhimdhar Behera, Jagu Mallick, Chemai Kund on the point of their identification, I gave them the benefit of the doubt and acquit them under Sec. 259 C.P.C. I sentence Udaynath Naik to one year's R. I., Ghanashyam Bal to six months R. I.

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Dasa Behera, Ratha Naik, Khetrabasi Rout, Chuni Naik, Maguni Behera, Jagabandhu Baral are each sentended to four months R. I.

The remaining accused to three months R.I. each.

In conclusion I should say something about the conduct of the police. I think it was all that could be desired. In spite of the very great provocation offered by the several mobs, the S.P. and his men exercised a great deal of forbearance. It was only when the S.P. found things were becoming very serious and if he delayed any longer by keeping on warning the mob (which up till then was useless) lives of not only himself but of his whole force would certainly have been endangered. The mob was gradually surrounding them. It was then only that he ordered the firing of ball (and that after buck shot had been fired with no effect). The firing was thoroughly justified in my opinion and that I am right I would just refer to accused petition filed before me on 23-3-22.

Rajkanika Sd. H. Vangriecken
2-6-22

JUDGEMENT

From kept under section 263 ACT X of 1882

Serial No. 76 G

Date of report or complaint :- 23-4-22.

Name and residence of complainant :- Emperor.

Name, parentage and residence of accused:-

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Udaynath Naik son of Bhaigi Naik of Gobang, Police Station, Aul.

The offence complained of and date of its alleged commission :- Criminal assault on Nidhi Mallick and forcibly taking a cloth from him valued at Rs. 1-12-0 on 23-4-22.

The plea of the accused and his examination (if any) :- The allegations are false. I saw the golamal on 23-4-22 and hearing firing of guns I too shelter in the cowshed of some one (Moni Maharatha) and I was caught as a melia and falsely accused.

The finding (guilty or not guilty) and the offence proved, if any, and in cases coming under clause (d) clause (e) or clause (f) of Section 260, the value of the property in respect of which the offence has been committed :- Guilty under Section 379 I.P.C theft of cloth worth Rs. 1-12-0. The sentence or other final order and the date on which the proceedings terminated :- Sentenced to one month's R.I.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
2-6-22

Nidhi Mallick on solemn affirmation :- On the day there was firing I was bringing Superintendent of Police's Dak from Aul Police Station. At Ganja I heard he had gone to Chalunia and there I heard he had gone to Patarpur. I took Kasi Mallick (Ayetan Choukidar) and went with him towards Patarpur. On my way at Biradia accused me and asked me where I was going. I said I was taking Superintendent of Police's Dak. He said we have repeatedly asked you Choukidars not to serve and he beat

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me and snatched my gamacha and chadar. He then asked Kasi Mallick not to leave me until they came back but I went to Superintendent of Police and informed him. This is my first information (Exhibit-1). I went to Chalunia for this.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
13-5-22

2. Gyanandra Nath Chatterjee, Inspector on solemn affirmation :-

I know P.W. No. 1. He came with this envelop (Exhibit-1). The Choukidar informed me of the occurrence. We told him to go to Chalunia and lodge information. At Chalunia Nidhi Mallick pointed out accused.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
13-5-22

3. Abdul Aziz Khan on solemn affirmation :-

On 23-4-22 I sent P.W. No. 1 to Rajkanika with this envelop (Ex.-1).

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
13-5-22

4. Kasi Mallick, Choukidar of Ayetan on solemn affirmation :-

I followed Nidhi Mallick from Ayetan at a distance of about 100 yards. Many men surrounded accused and accosted him for carrying the Dak. I saw accused strike Nidhi

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Mallick with a lathi. Nidhi's clothes were snatched away. I did not see who took them.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
13-5-22

REASONS

I have no doubt the accused not only beat the Choukidar who was carrying the police dak, but also snatched away his gamacha. Immediately on reaching the police he made the complaint and as he reached Chalunia he pointed out Udaynath Naik as the culprit. P.W. No. 3 another Choukidar while admitting that Udaynath struck the complainant, he suppresses the other part, the snatching of the gamacha. This witness, is in my opinion, not speaking the whole truth. I do not see why P.W. No. 1 should falsely implicate Udaynath. He is a resident of another part of Aul outside the Kanika estate. I beleive the prosecution story.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
2-6-22

JUDGEMENT

Criminal Case No. 50 G.R./55T of 1922

Emperor through Mani Maharathi

Versus

Srikar Mahanty, Achut Naik and Balaram Rout

Section 341 I.P.C.

It is alleged that on the 18th March last about 11 gharies of the day the complainant

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Mani Maharathi had to pass via Meghpur on his way to Ayetan hat where he had to make some purchases and to pay rent to the estate officers of Kanika stationed there. At Meghpur the three accused questioned him as to the purpose of his journey to Ayetan and on getting the reply they, in accordance with the intention of their samiti (society), tried to dissuade him from making the payment to the state and that while the complainant did not act up to their suggestion they took him to task and obstructed him from proceeding further and assaulted him while he was forcibly dragged from Meghpur to Joral. One Rusi Behera, and the wife and the son of the complainant came to his rescue while he raised an alarm on a spot close to his house and the three accused left the spot. Then sometime after the complainant went in the company of one Dattahari, a estate Mohurir, in order to lodge the first information (Exhibit 1) before the police at Ayetan.

It is said that the three accused belong to Chhamuka Elaka of Kanika where the people are dead against the amicable payment of rent to the Raja and that 2 days prior to the occurrence the complainant could not be persuaded to deposit rent in the court and to join hands with the refractory tenants on the ground that his son was in the service of the estate.

The three accused do not plead guilty of the offence under Section 341 I.P.C. Their version is that as the tenants deposit rent in the court the Raja has brought this case through his creature, the present complainant, the father of the head Muhurir at Ghantaswar Elaka in order to harass the accused.

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Besides the complainant's son Baishnab Charan Sahu (P.W.4), two other men, namely, Nisamoni Behera and Rusi Behera have been examined to support the prosecution story. The points of contradiction seem to be too meagre and the main story under Section 341 I.P.C. is corroborated by them.

It is argued by the defence that the complainant has failed to produce other witnesses from the villages Joral and Meghpur where he was maltreated. But at the same time one must remember that the two Mouzas Joral and Meghpur are not at all free from the contagion of disaffection. It may not be out of place to quote the statement of D.W. 1 when he says :- "The villagers of Joral and Meghpur have not paid the rent for the march Kist." It is needless to mention here that it is apparent from the version of the D.Ws that the people of good many Mouzas get their inspiration from the refractory ring-leaders of the situation. Hence it is rather an uphill task for the prosecution to get any support in the midst of the stormy atmosphere.

Another thing is pointed out by the defence. The first information report (Exhibit-1) seems to be a bit hazy on some points and does not tally with the version of the complainant in all the detalis. But that does not matter much and the materials of the main story under Section 341 I.P.C. can be easily gathered. In this particular case the degree of probability seems to be the essential factor and in that view of the case one may ignore the minor details.

As to the alleged motive the defence seems to supply the date more accurately. D.W. 1 is

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to be thanked for his refreshing frankness and he unhesitatingly states that the complainant Mani was not willing to comply with the decision of the tenants' meeting at Chaluniahat on the ground that his son was in the service of the state. Then it is but natural that the complainant would incur the displeasure of the other tenants and that the latter including the present accused would be on the look out of teaching him a lesson at a cost. It seems that when conciliatory measures failed the obstinate tenants took recourse to repression in order to serve their private ends.

A word as to the defence adduced in this case. The cross-examination of D.W. 1 is rather a pen picture of the present state of unrest in Kanika. D.Ws. 2 and 3 said to be priests have been examined to show that the complainant is related to P.W. 3. But these two witnesses have also withheld payment of rent like their fellow brethern. It is no wonder that they would play the part of priests in the interest of their propaganda work. I do not however like to bring out the inconsistent statements in their deposition. These two witnesses also seem to fill up some of the gaps in the deposition of D.W. 1 as far as the question of the present crisis in Kanika is concerned, and one would now be able to judge how eager the tenants would be to baffle the attempts of the insignificant minority who had faithfully adhered to the Raja. I am of opinion that the complainant was an eyesore to the unruly tenants and that led to his present difficulty.

Thus considering the pros and cons of the situation and the grounds of probability, I find

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the three accused Srikar Mahanty, Achut Naik and Balaram Naik guilty under Section 341 I.P.C. and sentence each of them to pay a fine of Rs. 50/- (Rupees fifty) in default, to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three weeks.

Kendrapara Sd. M. M. Pattanaik
5-5-22 Magistrate of the 2nd class

JUDGEMENT

CRIMINAL CASE NO. 60 C. R. OF 1922

Emperor

Versus

Ratnakar Mallick & 40 others

Sec. 379 I.P.C

Accused are charged with theft of timber from a reserved forest belonging to Killa Kanika.

It is alleged that they went to this jungle which is called Bhitar Kanika in dongas on the 27th March and began cutting fuel and were caught red-handed. The S.I. of Aul, the special S.I., who had been sent to Kanika in connection with the Kanika disturbances and certain other Raj employees were present in the jungle when a noise was heard, they went to the part and saw the accused cutting and carrying and loading timbers. The accused were questioned as to why they did this and their reply was that the mahasabha of the melias had issued orders that all forests were now open. The prosecution witnesses who prove the cutting are witnesses Nos. 1 to 7. Further the accused admit the prosecution story. The also state that they

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know this was one of the 3 reserved forests of the Raj lying in the Cuttack district and that it was common knowledge that timber could only be taken from any of them when permission was obtained from the Raj authorities which permission was given on application. The tenants pay a certain sum, 2 pice on every rupee of rent, as bankar but this entitles them to take timber for their own domestic use from the open forests ; and this rate has been in existence some 12 or 13 years and was introduced by the Raja who was petitioned to change the old system and rate of 0-8-3 per chula which were found inconvenient and troublesome to the tenants (vide evidence of P.W. No. 7A, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13-15).

The prosecution has also examined other witnesses to prove what is done before permission is given to Rayats to cut timber from the reserved forests. An application has to be made to the authorities, this is registered, permission is given a fee realised a receipt is granted to the payer and a permit is also issued. This goes to the guard and he allows the applicant so much or kind of timber that has been sanctioned.

The estate has produced documents to show that this is so.

Certain tenants who filed such applications have been examined. Their applications have been proved. The registers of such applications have also been proved and P.W. No. 21 proves the entries in these registers, the receipts issued for fees paid and the orders passed on the applications. He also deposes that amounts realised on this account during the day is

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deposited in the estate treasury by a single challan. Three entries in the Cash Book showing the amounts deposited by them have been proved. Others could not be proved as Cash Books for these years have been filed in the civil court.

From this evidence there can be no doubt that accused are guilty. I find each and every one of them guilty under Sec. 379 I.P.C. Some of the accused went out as labourers of some of the others and some of them were the ring leaders. I take this fact into consideration in sentencing them. I think fines in a case of this nature will be sufficient. I sentence Ratnakar Mallick, Padan Mallick, Paramananda Das, Lakhan Mahalik, Hursi Das, Nidhi Sahu, Dhusasan Mal, Govinda Malha, Padan Bisikar Rout, Manu Rout alias Muli Rout, Gaji Rout and Nidhi Behera fined Rs. 10/- each in default one month's R.I. each and Chintamani Mal and Satrughan Swin fined Rs. 20/- each in default six weeks R.I. All other accused fined Rs. 15/- each in default five weeks R.I. each.

Raj Kanika — Sd. H. Van Griecken
26-5-22 — Magistrate 1st class

JUDGEMENT

FROM KEPT UNDER SECTION 263 ACT X OF 1882
SERIAL NUMBER

Date of report : 27-3-22

Name and residence of complainant :- Emperor

NAME, PARENTAGE AND RESIDENCE OF ACCUSED :-

(1) Kali Naiyak son of Chakar Naiyak, (2) Udi Barik son of Rusi Barik, (3) Jakha Barik son

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of Fakir Barik, (4) Santha Senapaty son of Nabin Senapaty, (5) Gobinda Senapaty son of Buban Senapaty of Govindapur, Police Station Chandbali, (6) Sirai Mallick son of Chemai Mallick, (7) Kali Mallick son of Arjun Mallick, (8) Jujesti Mallick son of Bodhi Mallick of Bajorpur, P.S. Aul.

THE OFFENCE COMPLAINED OF AND DATE OF ITS ALLEGED COMMISSION :-

Theft of fuel worth Rs. 19-12 from the reserved forest called Bhitar Kanika on 26-3-22 without permission of the estate.

THE PLEA OF THE ACCUSED ETC. :-

Each and every accused pleads guilty. They admit the jungle from which they cut is a reserved forest called "Bhitar Kanika" and that they did so without permission which has to be taken before any one takes fuel or timber. The Panchmuka tenants say Krishna Parira of Murganayani, Antarjami Pallai of Jaleswarpur and Biswas Rai of Dasipur ordered them. The others that Dinabandhu Khandaitray, Purnananda Routray and Bhagawan Suttar of Ayetan decided to cut and Brindu Behera who attend the sabha informed us of the orders.

The finding (guilty or not guilty) and the offence proved if any and in cases coming under clause (d), clause (e) or clause (f) of Section 250 the value of the property in respect of which the offence has been committed :-

Guilty 379 I.P.C.- theft of wood worth Rs. 19-12.

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THE SENTENCE OR OTHER FINAL ORDER AND THE DATE ON WHICH THE PROCEEDINGS TERMINATED :-

Each accused is fined Rs. 10/- in default one months R.I.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
23-5-22

SUMMARY AND REASONS :-

Radhakrishna Mahanty on S.A.- This is my F.S. (Ex. 1). I am forest Muhurir of the three reserved forests, viz. Bhitar Kanika, Kalibhanja Dia and Baguli Dia. No tenant nor any one can take any fuel or timber from these jungles without permission of the estate. Application has first to be made and permission is given or not as the case may be. When given something payment is taken or cutting is allowed gratis a list of wood to be given is sent to the guard and then tenants take. These 8 accused were cutting from Bhitar Kanika reserved forest on 26-3-22. I went there on 23-3-22. I saw many men of Panchmuka and Chhamuka cutting. I asked their names and residence. They did not disclose then but threatened. I came to Rajkanika and informed the officer. Seven or eight men were sent with me on 26-3-22, I saw these men cutting. I questioned them and they said the sabha had given them orders to do so.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

2. Arjuni Naiyak on S.A.- I was taken by P.W. No. 1 to Bhitar Kanika about a month and 20 days ago. I saw these accused cutting fuel

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which they put in 2 dongas. The forest is reserved.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

3. Sayed Mobarak Ali on S.A.- I am record keeper of Kanika estate for the last 20 years. I have brought papers called for. I file them. These were in my custody.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

4. Chowdhury Chintamoni Samontarai on S.A.—I am President No. 1, Rajnogar. There are three reserved jungles in the estate, Bhitar Kanika, Kalibhanja Dia and Baguli Dia. The others are all open to the tenants. For taking fuel etc. from the latter, tenants pay two pice on each rupee of their rent. This has been for 10 or 12 years. Before that they used to pay -/8/3 per family. -/8/3 was charged for supply of 100 Mds. of fuel and certain other timber for agricultural implements. This timber was passed on production of receipt. There were guards in the forests. This practice was found inconvenient by the tenants as the timber was always checked at different stations so we represented to the Raja and he asked us to consult among ourselves and we decided 2 pice per rupee of rent. This was allowed on a petition (Ex.-2) filed by village headmen. I was one of them.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

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5. Shama Ch. Mohanty on S.A.- I am head Amin of the estate. I prepared a map (Ex.3) showing the position of the jungles in the Cuttack portion of the estate. There are 3 reserved jungles among these.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

6. Akuli Behera on S.A.- Five or six years I filed an application for taking jungle produce from the reserved forest. This is the application. Ex.4 is my thumb impression and signature. I had to pay Rs. 3/-. I got a receipt which my servant took jungle and he took it.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

7. Radhasham Bal on S.A.- I filed an application in my father's name for jungle produce from Bhitar Kanika. This is the application (Ex.-5) I signed for my father. I paid something. This was 8 years ago.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

8. Bela Birabahu on S.A,- I filed an application for produce from reserved jungle some 8 years ago. I had to pay something. The receipt was shown to the guards before I got anything. This was the application. (Ex.-6).

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

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9. Dama Roul on S.A.- I filed an application some 8 or 10 years ago for taking jungle produce from Bhitar Kanika. I paid something. This is the application and this my signature [Ex.-7 and Ex.-7(a)].

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

10. Dadananda Santra on S.A.- I am President No. VIII Aul. (Says same as P.W. No. 4). I was one of the signatories to the petition (Ex.-2, Ex.-2(b)) is my signature.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

11. Chakradhar Mangaraj on S.A.- Says same as No. 4. I signed the petition Ex.-2(c).

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

12. Darasani Bal on S.A.- I was called to produce the pass which I got from the estate for taking jungle produce from forests other than the reserved ones. I paid-/8/3. This is the pass. (Ex.-8).

Action nil.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

13. Narayan Sahu on S.A.- I pay for catching fish and for catching fish we require wood etc. and we take from jungles

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other than the reserved ones. These are the receipts. Ex.-9 (a-c).

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

14. Krishna Chandra Patnaik on S.A.- I am Peskar Manager's office. I wrote Ex. 9a, Ex. 9b & 9c, were written by Radhakrishna Mohanty. I know his handwriting. Ex. 4b is the Manager's order written by me and signed by the manager. Ex. 4c is Lokenath Moharana's (forest guard) intimation that supply was made to applicant. I know Lokenath's handwriting. I realised Rs. 3/- from him and gave him a receipt (Ex.-10) is the counterfoil.

Ex.-11 is the entry No. 15 is the siha of 1916-17.

Ex. 12 is the challan shows his realisation of Rs. 3 (total collection was 5/4/-). The Cash Book has been filed in the Sub Judge's Court.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

15. Balauki Swain S.I. Rajnagar on S.A.- I enquired into this case. I prepared this map Ex. -13 of Bhitar Kanika reserved forest. I have shown 7 sign boards round the jungles. This is one of them (Ex.-1).

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

No defence offered.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
15-5-22

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REASONS

The case against the accused persons is one of theft, cutting fuel from the reserved forest called "Bhitar Kanika" without permission of the Kanika Raj authorities.

The accused persons admit the case for the prosecution, but apart from this admission there is ample evidence, on the record to prove the case.

It has proved a map (Ex.-3) showing the position of the three reserved forests of which Bhitar Kanika is one in the Cuttack portion of the Kanika estate.

The S.I. who investigated the case and saw the spot where the accused cut the wood, has proved a sketch map (Ex.-13) showing the jungle and he says he found sign-boards posted right round (one has been produced Ex.-1) with the notice "Kanika Raj Bhitar Kanika Reserved Forest- No admission without permission."

Two witnesses (P.W. Nos. 4 and 10), Presidents of Panchayats of Unions Nos.1 Rajnagar and VIII Aul prove that Bhitar Kanika is a reserved forest and that one is permitted to take any timber from it unless on application and if permission is given on payment of certain fees. No. 11 is another witness who deposes similarly. Then several witnesses have been examined who made application and get permission. Their applications have been proved and P.W. No. 12 proves that a pass is granted after application and fees are paid and P.W. 13 produces his receipts. P.W. No. 14 shows what is the procedure produce, the application is filed and

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then entered in a register, the manager posses orders granting permission, a certain fee is fixed and when paid a receipt is granted and a pass is issued, this pass is taken by applicant to the forest guard who allows him to take what has been specified. Money collected on one day on account of forest produce is deposited in the Raj treasury under a single challan.

Even if accused had denied every allegation the prosecution evidence produced would have been conclusive as against them. The accused say they were instructed to go and cut by certain men, whom they name, and that these men said the sabha had decided that tenants should cut from reserved forests. This is no excuse. They knew the forests was reserved and none could give them permission except authorities of Kanika Raj. Very probably however these men feared the leaders of the meli (into which they had been coerced) who had decided on what should and what should not be done by the tenants who joined it. *The meli had been formed to defy the Raja of Kanika and his officers and subordinates, employees.*

Sd. H. Vangriecken
23-5-22

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JUDGEMENT

FROM KEPT UNDER SECTION 263, ACT X OF 1882 SERIAL NUMBER

Date of report or complaint 27-3-22

Name and residence of complainant :- Emperor

NAME, PARENTAGE AND RESIDENCE OF ACCUSED :-

(1) Jagabandhu Das son of Sadai Das, (2) Ghuti Jena son of Fakir Jena of Koilpur Police Station Aul, (3) Murali Das son of Paban Das of Madrangapat ; P.S. Aul, (4) Ratnakar Behera son of Paban Behera, (5) Chemei Naik son of Sudam Naik of Govindakun ; P.S. Aul, (6) Mayadhar Mahalik son of Lakhmi Mahalik of Joynagar ; P.S. Aul, (7) Govinda Sahu son of Nabai Sahu, (8) Suryamani Sahu son of Do ; (9) Bhajan Raut son of Kapil Raut of Kandagaradi ; P.S. Chandbali, (10) Banchhanidhi Biswal son of Nanda Biswal, (11) Ganda Biswal son of Danai Biswal, (12) Buddhi Biswal son of Bhima Biswal, (13) Paramananda Raut son of Bipra Raut, (14) Rama Sahu son of Aparti Sahu of Tentulida P.S. Chandbali.

The offence complained of and date of its alleged commission :- Theft of wood from reserved forest Bhitar Kanika worth Rs. 40/- on 27-3-22.

The plea of the accused and his examination (if any) :- Each and every accused pleads guilty. This forest is reserved. Permission is necessary before any one can cut. The Panchmuka accused say that they were going to the open forest but the Chhamuka people told them to cut as this was opened for the last two months- the Chhamuka accused say Dinabandhu

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Khandaitray, Agani Behera, Ananda Jena told them to cut as it was now opened.

The finding guilty or not guilty and the offence proved, if any, and in cases coming under Clause (d) or Clause (e) or Clause (f) of Sec. 260, the value of the property in respect of which the offence has been committed :-

Guilty under Sec. 379 I.P.C theft of wood valued at Rs. 40/-

The sentence or other final order and the date on which the proceeding terminated :-

Each of the accused is fined Rs. 10/- in default one month's R.I.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

Kulamani Mohanty on S.A.- I am Forest and Fishery Inspector, Kanika Raj. These accused were cutting fuels from "Bhitar Kanika" reserved forest on both sides of Ganjeikhia Jora. There are two other reserved forests in Cuttack "Kalibhanjadia" and "Bagulidia". Accused said the *mahasabha* has given orders to cut. There were two dongas and the accused had axes and katury. These are with the S.I. There are signboards right round the forest. This is one (Ex.-1). *The non-co-operators put this into heads of the tenants.* This (Ex.-1) is a map showing position of reserved forests. This is my first information (Ex.-2). The S.I. was also present, when accused were caught.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

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2. Balunki Swain S.I. of Rajnagar on S.A.- I was investigating another jungle cutting case and arrested these accused while they were cutting. There were 2 dongas and accused had katuries and kurhadies. They are at the thana. I have brought a couple of each. *Accused said the mahasabha had ordered tenants to cut.* I prepared this map Ex.3 and have shown the sign-board. One is here (Ex.-1). I drew up Ex.-2.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

3. Radha Krishna Mohanty on S.A.- I am forest guard. (Further corroborates No.1). Permission is given only on application and after fees are paid. I was with P.W. No. 1.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

4. Parikhit Rout on S.A. :- I was with P.W. No. 1, 2 and 3 when accused were caught cutting. (Further corroborates Nos. 1 and 3.).

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

5. Gopinath Parija Special S.I. on S.A. :- Corroborates P.W. No. 2. I saw 7 sign-boards. These (Ex.-II) is a sample of the wood cut.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

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6. Rajani Maharana on S.A. :- I went with P.W. No. 1. Corroborates further other witnesses.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

7. Durga Charan Ray on S.A. :- Bankar used to be charged at the rate of 0-8-3. It is now 2 pice rupee of rent. The tenants found the former inconvenient, so we held a consultation and eventually the latter was fixed. We have been paying the present rate for 13 years. Tenants cannot take from the 3 reserved forests Bhitar Kanika, Kalibhanjadia and Bagulidia. The others are open to all. This Ex.-4 is the petition we filed before the Raja. I was one of the signatories. This is my signature Ex.-4.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

8. Kali Sahu on S.A. :- Says same as No. 7 as to rate bankar. I filed this application (Ex.-5) for permission to take timber from reserved forest "Bhitar Kanika". I paid Rs. 3-4-0 for fees. I got a receipt. The forest guard saw the permit and then I took timber. I signed in token of receipt.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

9. Ratnakar Naik on S.A. :- Says same as No. 8 as regards his own application (Ex.-6). I signed Ex. 8. I paid 0-8-0 as fees.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

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10. Sham Charan Mohanty on S.A. :- I am Raj, Head Amin. I prepared Ex.-1.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

11. Chakradhar Mohanty on S.A. :- I wrote Ex.-5. It is an application to cut timber from "Bhitar Kanika". There are two others "Kalibhanjadia" and "Bagulidia".

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

12. Narendra Naik on S.A. :- I wrote Ex.-6 (further says same as No. 11). I wrote Ex.-7 and 8 also applications.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

13. Kali Charan Bal on S.A. :- wrote this application (Ex.-9) to cut timber from reserved forest 'Bhitar Kanika'. There are 2 others.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

14. Ratnakar Naik on S.A. :- I have produced receipt for fees 0-8-3. I paid for timber from reserved open forests. There are 3 reserved forests one is "Bhitar Kanika".

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

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15. Sayed Mobarak Ali on S.A. :- I am Raj, Record Keeper for 20 years. I have produced the records called for Cash Book for 1913-14 and 1920-21. The others have been filed in the Sub-Judge's Court. This receipt (of Ratnakar's) Ex.-10 was written by Govinda Ch. Mahanty whose handwriting I know. He is not in service.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

16. Lokenath Maharana on S.A. :- I am Head Forest Guard for 12 or 14 years. I gave up 2 years ago. I see the permit and allow the applicant to take timber for which fees have been paid. I wrote these (Ex.-5 and 9).

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

17. Krishna Charan Patnaik on S.A. :- I am Pesh Muhurir Manager's office since 1906-07.

Ex.-5 is an application for taking forest produce from Bhitar Kanika. It was presented to Assistant Manager. This Ex.-5b is his order. It was sent to the guard Lokenath Maharana. It was disposed of after his report. Rs. 3-4-0 was realised.

Ex.-6 is a similar application presented to Manager. 0-8-0 as realised Ex.-6a is his order. This was similarly disposed of. Ex.-6b is the guard's report. He is dead. I know his hand-writing.

All such applications are entered in the application register. Ex.-11 are the registers

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and Ex. -11a and 11b relate to these applications. I know the handwriting of the 2 muhurirs Gokulananda Mohanty and Krupa Sindhu Mohanty who wrote Ex.-11a and 11b.

These are the counterfoils (Ex.-12a & 13a) of receipts granted. I wrote 12a & 13a was written by Durga Charan Rout whose handwriting I know. Ex.-14 & 15 are the two sihas and Ex.-14a & 15a the entries. All payments on day Ex.-6 was filed amounted to 5-8 and credited by challan. Application to cut timber from reserved forests is made. The officer-in-charge passes orders—fees are realised. Permit is given and according to this wood is taken and guard reports and then case is disposed of. Sometimes free passes are granted when tenants are too poor.

Action declined.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

No defence.

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

REASONS

The accused are on trial for cutting timber from a reserved forest in the Kanika estate— the forest called "Bhitar Kanika"- without permission from Raj authorities.

Everyone of the 14 accused pleads "guilty" and they all admit the Raj case in toto.

Besides this particular jungle there are 2 others in that portion of Killa Kanika which lies in this district. There are other forests which are open to the tenants who take timber for

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their bankar of 2 pice per rupee of rent. These however who desire wood from the reserved forests have to apply for the same ; permission is given a fee realised and the amount the kind of wood is specified in a permit which is taken to the forest guard who allows the tenant the wood mentioned therein. The guard then reports the matter and this special application is finally disposed of.

These facts are proved by prosecution witnesses. The actual cutting of the timber is proved by 6 witnesses. The accused knew the jungle full well. (and there are sign-boards right round it warning people not to cut without permission) *but they went there in obedience of the command of the mahasabha which declared that all jungles were free to all tenants.*

Sd. H. Vangriecken
27-5-22

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Appendix - 4

TRANSLATION OF THE SPEECH OF RAM DAS BABAJI DELIVERED AT VILLAGE GOPALPUR AT 5 P.M. TO 8 P.M. ON 8-6-21

Brothers, I pray you with folded hands and request you to hear these three things- first, cultivation of cotton— you all cultivate cotton : spin thread by working the spinning wheel in every house ; now for a few days, spin thread with the spinning wheel by purchasing cotton; cloth worth Rs. 5/- will be made from cotton purchased at one rupee. The Sarkar's cloths are very vile and unholy and last for a short time. Formerly in our country, weavers put two pairs of cloths in a flute and presented such a flute to Kings. Where are such cloths in these days ? When the Firinghies (englishmen) came to our country they tried to spread their business by putting a stop to the use of cloths made in our country. At first, they threw down the bait and the people of this country were hooked by that bait ; do you know how ? At first they sold a glittering piece of cloth at a price of 6 annas : therefore the people considered it a troublesome matter to spin thread by working the spinning wheel and to put on cloth (made from that thread) and began to purchase cheap cloth.

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That sarkar is not to be trusted anymore. You were calling it (the sarkar) as father but do not call it as father any more. No longer throw money (lit. rupees) into the opening which has been made by it (the sarkar). Please ask me what that opening is. It (sarkar) has made such an opening as is found in a river. It (sarkar) is sucking all. Ten persons throw one rupee each into that opening and all the money goes away there through. Listen to me and do not put anything in that opening anymore. It (sarkar) can no longer grant licenses for the cultivation of cotton. Do you know why license is granted ? Its object is only to suck our blood. Those days are gone ; it (sarkar) cannot do so any more. Gandhi Mahatma has crushed all the pride of that wicked fellow (the sarkar). Gandhi Mahatma has abolished all that. It (the sarkar) has no more strength to do that. Do you know what place I belong to ? I am a resident of Ajodhya (Oudh). Opium is prepared in my house. That opium is purchased by sarkar at Rs. 2-8-0 per seer. One who eats one bhari (tola) of this opium safely cannot endure the intoxication if he eats as much of that opium as is equal to the size of a mustard seed. They (the sarkar) bring that opium, prepare 10 seers of opium out of one seer of that opium and sell it at Rs. 90/- per seer. Look, what a machinery it (sarkar) has set, how it is giving our own things to us and putting money into its pocket (lit. wrapping rupees in its waist cloth) ; just as a leech sticks (to the body) and sucks the blood, so it (the sarkar) is sucking our blood ; the demon is sucking all the blood and we have become moribund. It (the sarkar) is not to be trusted

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anymore. Do not regard them (the sarkar) as your king (ruler) anymore. Know them to be servants, know them to be guests, know them to be traders. In our country one year's yield of the paddy crop would feed us for 6 years. But as they (the sarkar) are taking away all (the paddy) ; one year's yield of the crop does not last for three months and we do not get a little rice water to drink once during a day and a half. Therefore cultivate cotton, put on cloths by spinning thread with the spinning wheel, do not eat intoxicating things such as opium, have your cases and disputes decided by Panchayats ; do not go to cutcherry, what gain is there in going to cutcherry, your mind will be deluded if you see the white pucca building of the cutchery through anger you will sell Kansa and Kharu (drinking pot and bracelet) and will be ruined. In that place (cutcherry) several people take money by cheating. To advert to the police, do the police restore to your money which, is stolen ? Again as soon as they (the police) reach the village, you tremble lest they will bind you down and take you away. Give milk, give ghee and fish must be given lest the police will become angry. Threfore I say do not fear anyone, I say do not fear ; give up all those things, establish Panchayat in your village and have everything decided by that Panchayat. When Gandhi Mahatma decided as above, the sarkar said "Hello, we are undone." Therefore four of our police brothers have come here today. Have you seen them coming here at any other time ? The maternal aunt is never addressed as such except on the Gahma Purnima (the full moon in the month of Sraban). Do you know why they have come ?

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I have not invited them. The object of their coming is that they will explain the opposite of what I shall say. A paper entitled "Hitabarta" is being published on behalf of the sarkar. They will cause it to be read and will read it out to you. Please never be deceived by it. It is full of lies only and in it a mango is represented as *ambara* (i.e. it is full of misrepresentations of facts). It is an attempt to keep you under delusion by spending our own money. They are the grainers if they keep us (as ignorant) as cows. Do not fear anything. There are groups of police here today. Still do not fear them. What will they do ? They will arrest us and put us in jail. Do not fear the jail. The jail is our gateway to heaven. We are not going to jail for wrong doing or for stealing. What shame is there if we go to jail for doing a right act. It (the jail) is the temple of Gods. People go to heaven when they do virtuous acts. We are doing virtuous acts. What fear is there if we go to jail. I am a guest, if you give me a lota of water, you will be arrested. They do not say anything to you because I am here. When I am gone (from here) they will threaten you tomorrow morning. You will not fear that threat. They will do nothing. They only threaten you. If they will arrest people, they will send them to jail ; let them do that. Let them send to jail as many people as they like. We are in a big jail. This India is a Jail. Those jails are temples of Gods. All the jails they (the sarkar) have cannot hold more than twenty thousand people. One lakh of us, are ready to go to jail. It will be seen where they will keep us. The words of Gandhi Mahatma are ringing in the ears of all like the sound of a flute. We shall make Charkha and

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go to jail. Don't you see how they are acting ? We only two lads have come (here), why have six of them come (here) for that reason ? They will not allow us to do anything.

They are in service ; they cannot help threatening you in accordance with their (sarkar's) orders. Do not fear that threat. In Japan taxes were levied in the same way as in our country water tax, fruit tax, tax for night soil, fish tax are being levied, which are known to all and which need not therefore be delated upon. Hear a story of Japan. After much oppression, the people there were roused (into action) and 100 men were required to be sacrificed for the deliverance of the country. As soon as the people heard it, 500 men came foreward in place of 100 men. They came forward to be sacrificed and should we be afraid of (going to) jail ? Is there no blood in our veins (lit. bodies) ? When selections were made from among those 500 men, it was found out that one man had no one else in his house than his mother. He was alone to maintain his old mother. That lad said that he would go, but he was sent back and was told that he would go back and support his mother. When he went to his mother and related the story to her, the old woman was very sorry to hear it. Reproaching herself she said, "You came back for my sake and did not do the country's work." (saying this) she suddenly brought a knife and thrust it into her breast and said" you will have no anxiety about me ; I die ; you do the country's work." Look and have faith after hearing this story. Do not fear any wicked persons. Why should you fear ? Your nation's hands have been cut off,

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the cultivation of cotton has been stopped, the cow mother has been extinct ; your sons and daughters do not get a drop of milk to drink ; they cut (the cows) and ate them up, whence will you get (milk) ? I am a *babaji* (ascetic) why am I wandering about in this connection after renouncing everything. It is for your good (that I am doing so).

Famine prevailed in the country, many people died, but not a single (death) was recorded.

Nothing is accomplished suddenly, everything will be done slowly, our country will become ours they also will become ours "A road is travelled slowly (i.e. step by step), a wall is constructed slowly and a hill is surmounted slowly (i.e. step by step)."

Who does not wish to go to the temple of the Gods and do virtuous acts ? All of you wish to do so, but you cannot do so on account of a general fear ; you have been terrified by the general fear from your childhood ; shake off that fear, you all wish to become members of the congress ; they are threatening to send you to jail, they will send you to jail by fabricating lies and without any evidence ; if I was asked to go to jail today, I would go to jail at this very moment shouting "Gandhi Mahatma ki jai" and "Saukat Ali ki jai". You have heard of Rajkrishna Bose, who is one of my brothers and who is like me. Like myself he was wandering about holding meetings and explaining to all (the people) all matters relating to the sarkar. The sarkar said "Hello ; The people have understood our tricks." The sarkar said to him "Pay Rs. 1,000/- and you will be released." He

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(Rajkrishna Bose) said "I will not pay a single pice". Then he (the sarkar) said "Give Rs. 200/- as security." He refused to give a single pice as security. Therefore the Sahib said "Go and walk a little and have your mind diverted." Then on being asked he said "Send me to hajat". He went to hajat, but still did not give security. Let them do what they like, we shall not say anything. This incident sent a thrill through the whole town of Cuttack ; and thousands of people went out to him, presented him with flowers and sandal paste and escorted him to Sri Mandir (jail).

For you the jail is the gateway to heaven. Bharatmata Ki Jai Jai Kar— the jingling of the fetters is (like) the sound of the lute. The jail is the gateway to heaven and he went to jail. I also wish to go to jail. You and I are labourers. He was a man who was earning Rs. 500/- a month. His father is a police officers. On hearing of this incident, a meeting was held the other day at Gandhi's ghat at Cuttack. To supply his place, 25 men gave up service that very day. Vakils came, Muktars came and Magistrates came and gradually all will come in this way. Also 500 persons were enlisted as members of the congress committee that very day.

All of you become members of the congress and do not fear anyone.

II

Speech of Ram Das Babaji delivered on 9-6-21 at Karijanga village in Union XII of Police Station, Dharamsala, district Cuttack

Brothers, I have many things (to say) but I will not say (those things), for you cannot carry

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them into practice. We are going from house to house and telling the people to make cloths and wear them. Fathers and grandfathers spun thread with their own hands and put on cloths (woven with that thread). Two pieces of cloth will be made from cotton purchased at one rupee. But if cloths were purchased they would cost Rs. 6/-. The money which you pay by putting on bilati (english) cloth, is not only money but also are crops which are everything to us and also our flesh and blood which are being sucked. All the money of this country is flowing away through the imposition of several kinds of taxes as if through an opening made in an embankment. Everything is gone (lit. cleared) in one night. We are being harassed from day to day. We are forgetting that *arat* the *Sudarsan Chakra* (discus of Vishnu) which will manage the country. Buy cotton, spin thread, make cloths and wear them and you will know the result of all this afterwards. If you do not get cotton, then you get it if you make an enquiry at Durgapur hat and at the house of the manager of Singhpur. Make cotton your profession like paddy. Gandhi says that one crore of rupees and one crore of members are required from India. It is not easy to collect this from India. There is such a machinary in India by means of which (the people) are gladly paying 70 crores of rupees for cloth alone. Bring an *arat* (charkha) from Singhpur, show it to your carpenter and have arats made (after that pattern) or purchase them. Become members of the congress by paying an annual subscription of four annas each. This subscription will be spent for the good of the country. Settle all cases by establishing panchayat, stop litigation

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by establishing panchayats at every house. Do not go to the Thana (police station) or cutcherry or (law court). What have you become by going to the cutcherry (law court). They are taking money by deceiving (you) in various ways. When a panchayat is established in our village, the people of our own village will be better able to distinguish the guilty from the innocent than the hakims who cannot so distinguish. In that place (law court) only money wins cases. He who has more money wins cases. There is no justice there. Why are you then suffering so much and flattering so much without establishing panchayats in every village ? Anyone in the village, who does not obey the orders of the panchayat, should be boycotted and ex-communicated. None of the villagers should help him in anything. How long will he be able to endure all this ? Therefore establish panchayats in every village and settle everything among yourselves (lit. in your own house). An elephant is not equal to the unity of a nation. You will derive no benefit from litigation ; only they will eat your property and lord over you (lit. climb upon you). They will call (the villagers) one by one from the village and oppress them. They will not allow what you say to be maintained. They will go on maintaining their point. You are being terrified. You are goats. You will be driven anyway they like. If they call light darkness, then you will call it darkness and if they call darkness light, then you will call it light. Without understanding anything you say "Yes" to whatever they say. There is no reason why you should fear henceforth. Do not fear in this way anymore and reply boldly. Do not pay to them all by selling everything that is in your

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house. We shall unite in weal as well as in woe. When united, we shall work in weal as well as in woe. But the hakims whom we were worshipping by paying them illegal gratifications will not do so. As we do not attend to our own affairs, we go without food and without clothing. Another thing is intoxication. This is causing our ruin, and the sarkar is taking away from us in vain, on this account 17 crores of rupees per annum. Give it up, it is impoverishing us. It is destroying (lit. burning) our intelligence and business. I am telling the mothers that today they will urge their sons and husbands that today they will insist on spinning thread with arats or spinning wheels and that they will not eat their meals if they will not get (arats) and that they will be resolved that the money of our country will not go to foreign countries.

III

Speech delivered by Ram Das Babaji on 10-6-21 on the sands of the Brahmani river near Dharamsala Police Station, district Cuttack

"I bow to God Basudeb (Srikrishna)."

The meeting which is being held today is a meeting in connection with the policy of non-co-operation. I shall tell you why this meeting is held. All might have known about the German war. While the war was going on, the sarkar (government) induced us to give men and money and promised to give us elephants and horse (i.e. big rewards) after the war. But after the war a blow was given to Islam of Turkey and Mr. Rowlatt proposed to enforce the Rowlatt act in our country. The purport of the

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Rowlatt act is that no two persons can sit and talk together. If two persons were seen to sit together they would be arrested and sent to jail without trial. I Mecca and Medina the Hindus and the Musalmans were ordered to fire ten shots each, but none of them fired shots out of religious fear. Mr. Dyer came to Jalianabag mela, and killed the people assembled there by firing cannon at them and made the children crawl on their breasts in the sun. He made woman naked and spat on their faces, but that Mr. Dyer is now being supported in England with our blood and with our money. This is the justice of the sarkar (government). This incident took place on the 6th April last year. For this reason hartals are being observed on the 6th and 13th April according to the order of Mahatma Gandhi. Hartal means to stop all sorts of business, to remain fasting and to observe religious rites on account of (some) calamity. It is the duty of the king to govern his subjects like his sons, but should we regard him as a king who is so wicked, so sinful and so oppressive ?

Intoxicating things - It is necessary to give up ganja, opium and wine. Intoxicating things do us great mischief. Give up all these things. My birth place is in Oudh. Opium is made in my house. From that place opium is purchased at Rs. 2-8-0 per seer and twenty seers are made out of one seer and each seer is sold at Rs. 100/-. If anybody grows ganja plant he will be punished, but they trade in ganja. Wine is made from rice. Rice is taken from our country into England where wine is made from it and this wine is brought here and sold

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to us. Is not this their trade ? Is this the duty of a king ?

Cloth. .... Formerly there was arat (charkha) in our country. There is a proverb among the people "Eat by husking (your paddy & cotton) and put on (cloth) by spinning (thread)". But they took away cotton from our country and brought fine cloth and sold it at annas eight or ten per piece and thus wheedled us. Now every piece of cloth is sold at Rs. 3/-, Rs. 5/ - Rs. 10/-. At first getting cloth at cheap price we gave up arat (charkha), now we do not get rags to put on. All of you work the arat (charkha) and put on cloth by spinning thread. *Arat* (charkha) is Sudarsan Chakra (discus of Vishnu). *Arat* (charkha) God will save us.

Panchayat .... Gobinda and Madhab are two brothers. They quarrelled among themselves and Gobinda went to institute a case. The court house is like house of vultures. Vakils, Moharirs and many other vultures surrounded him. A petition was filed. The other brother Madhab sold ornaments and utensils and went to defend himself. At last the case was decided. Both the brothers returned home after learning a lesson and found that everything they had in their house was gone. Therefore do not go to carry on litigation and decide all cases amicably by panchayats.

The cow mother.... The cow is like our mother. The Musalmans and white people kill and eat the cow. But one do not get milk and ghee as cows are killed and eaten away and at last we cannot cultivate our lands. There are one lakh of white people in our country. Each

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white man eats five cows a year. Five lakhs of cows are slaughtered from our country every year for the white men only.

IV

Village Kahama, pargana Alti, Police Station Dharamsala, district Cuttack, dated the 14th June 1921. Speech delivered on 14-6-21, by Babaji Ram Das is as follows :-

I am a non-co-operator, i.e. I have given up all evil things and all connection with the government. The reason of my coming to this place is to make your non-co-operators, i.e. to make you give up co-operation with the government and it is my duty to devise means which will make you happy and which will remove all your sufferings arising from food difficulties and cloth difficulties.

You do not think yourselves ignorant. Nobody support you because you are ignorant. You are wise. He who is said to be an educated man is nothing but a slave (golam). Don't you see this Munshi babu who being an educated man has become a slave and is accompanying us not minding the heat and cold. He eats from you and drinks from your blood and still he notes down your names to make a stake of your anus. Is it good to become a slave at the sacrifice of wealth, honour and dignity. There is no reason for being terrified at his threats. That charkha God not charkha but Sudarsan Chakra (the discus of Vishnu) working at many places, seems to put an end to their happiness. Think that 70 crores of rupees per annum are going to be stopped, they have sent these police officers to submit false reports against

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us so that we may be sent to jail. These are hollow threats. Do not be afraid. That time is gone. These are simply useless threats. They cannot do anything. How long will you continue to be so afraid ? Think what you were and what you are. All are gradually becoming poor and short-lived. (Your) grandfather died at the age of 60 years. (Your) father died at the age of 50 years. You will die at the age of 40 years. Your son will die at the age of 30 years and your grandson will become old and die at the time of his birth. What is the cause of all this ? Want of food and want of peace. Why such miserable condition happened to the gold-yielding India. Where is (her prosperity) gone. All flowed across the seas (lit. seven seas). Your condition is such but they have built with your blood 8 or 10 storied pucca buildings furnished with electric fans and lights and are enjoying all sorts of happiness. Do you know how all this happens ? They take from us every year 70 crores of rupees for cloths and 19 crores of rupees for intoxicants. Besides this there are water rates, fruit cesses, earthen pot cess and anus cesses. Do you know how many sorts of cesses are there ? I have come to tell you the remedy that we have against all this. How long will you swim in the fog ? Awake and arise and see what has happened. Think of the country, hear what remedy is to be applied against this. If everyone of us would put on the cloth woven with the thread spun with charkha at his own house and would not buy english cloth or yarn then they would be deprived of 70 crores of rupees a year and so many storied pucca buildings would not remain, but would be destroyed. Our misery will also come to an end.

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The price of a piece of cloth is Rs. 6/- and the rent for one man (acre) of land is Rs. 5/-. How many mans (of land) would be required for supplying the clothing of one man ? A poor man wants at least four mans of land for the purpose of supplying himself with cloth. Will not poverty disappear if we put on cloths by spinning thread ? If a man spins thread for this own cloth at his leisure time only he gets crops or rent of four mans of land. Say how many of you have four mans of land. Hence depend on that charkha God. The Goddess of wealth (Lakshmi) will come to your house of her own accord. Misery will disappear.

Intoxicating things. Give up wine, ganja, opium and toddy and other intoxicating things. I hear that the Patras (a trading caste) of this place drink toddy, fie : give up all that. Oh : pan and sweeper brothers. give up intoxicating things. Buy rice with that money and eat it. You know that you give to the government 25 crores of rupees every year. My brothers, give up all that Chamar brothers, do not take licenses by bidding at the auction sale. Do not send money uselessly to foreign countries. Is there no happiness except this ? By going to institute suits do not flatter many persons. do not be abused and do not lose all your properties. If cases are instituted, both parties will sell all their properties, ornaments of their wives and their utensils to meet the expenses of the case from the police station to the court and the appellate court and although in the end one party will get the decree through the injustice of the court, both the parties will learn good lessons. No party wins. Domestic quarrels were

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not decided in the house, all the properties of the house were given to foreigners. In the end your brothers will remove the dead bodies from your house. Where are they who took money ? Well brothers, why will you not then decide your domestic quarrels at your own house and why will you flatter servant-dogs so much and why will you give them all you have in your house after being beaten by them with shoes ? Do not be afraid of anybody, set up panchayats in every house and in every village and decide all disputes. Do not obey anyone. Do not be afraid of any one. Even at the cost of your life it is not proper or just to be afraid of them. Is it not better to die than not to get boiled rice water even once during one and a half days (i.e. at long intervals). Will you fear jail ? Is it bad to go to jail for doing something good ? For you the jail is the gateway to heaven and the jingling of the fetters is like the music of the lute. Another thing where was your Krishna born ? In that jail then, is not jail the temple of God and the place for asceticism ? Then why should one fear jail ?

Hindus and Musalmans, do not hate one another. Religions of both are equal. The Hindu is the younger brother and the Musalman is the elder brother. Both the brothers had unity between them, but when these englishmen came (to this country) they created quarrels between the two brothers by setting them against each other. By making us quarrel between ourselves, they came between like monkeys and appropriated everything to themselves and enjoyed happiness, while it was we who suffered.Hence all of you learn what is good and

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make charkhas and spin thread. Do not litigate. You Hindus and Musalmans, remain together and keep up unity. Our rajya (kingdom) will become ours. Nothing is done in one day. Everything will be done gradually. A road is travelled slowly (i.e. step by step), a wall is constructed slowly and a hill is surmounted slowly (i.e. step by step).

During the last German war you helped the king with wealth and life. He also said that he would give you elephants and horses (i.e. very bing things) and swaraj. In the end he won and gave you the Rowlatt Act i.e. if two persons come together, they will be sent to jail. When this was disobeyed 1,200 persons were killed by cannon balls at Jalianabag mela in the Punjab and cloth was taken off from the hips of women and spittle was thrown on their hips. Now they say forgive and forget. This is their justice.

What shall I say about Khilafat oppressions ? At the end of the war the Musalmans were directed to shoot ten rounds at their Mosque. When they disobeyed the Hindus were ordered to shoot in the same way. The Hindus said, "Religions of all are equal, we will not shoot take away our service." Upon this they themselves took possession (of the Mosque) and began to shoot. This is the justice done to religion. For this reason the policy of non-co-operation began.

There is another thing. We the Indians have formed an assembly (congress) for all sorts of dangers and difficulties. Sweepers, Pans, Brahmins and all can become members of this assembly. Members shall have all the rights. Money has

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been deposited. People will receive help whenever there is famine or incendiarism or whenever any other calamity befalls the poor. So, if any of you wants to become a member, he may do so by paying an annual subscription of annas four. You will get a receipt for that.

There has been opened a fund called Tilak Swaraj Fund. This will be spent for swaraj. Pay to this fund whatever you like. Pice, half pice, rupee and anything will be accepted. After this the meeting was dissolved with the cries "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai."

V

Speech delivered on 20-6-21 by Babaji Ram Das in Dharamsala pilgrim's rest house

I bow to God Basudeb (Srikrishna). The meeting which is going to be held today is a meeting in connection with the policy of non-co-operation. Such a meeting was held here once before. I again hold this meeting here today as the number of members in the previous meeting was small. It was announced yesterday by beat of drums that a meeting would be held here, but owing to rain no meeting could be held. Brothers might have become sorry at heart. Kindly excuse. Today also many persons have gone away owing to the falling of rain at the time of the meeting. Those who are present here may kindly hear me.

All of you have heard the name of Mahatma Gandhi. Seeing our miseries Mahatma Gandhi had found out some means to remove them. If we set up to that, our rajya (kingdom) will become ours and we shall live in happiness.

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Remaining under the administration of this wicked ruler we have to suffer much, we have no food to eat and no cloth to put on. He is not a king, he is a trader. By dealing in cloth he takes away 70 crores of rupees from our country. They take not only money but also paddy, rice, pulse and cotton. They manage three months with the crops of their country, and for the remaining time they manage with what they take from our country. I, therefore, tell you to make charkha in every house to spin thread and to put on cloth woven with this thread. If we do so, then those 70 crores of rupees will remain in our country.

All things being taken away from our country, famine prevails in our country. We have gradually become short-lived for want of food. Spinning thread with charkha having been stopped in our country, Lakshmi (Goddess of wealth) has left our country and has gone across the seven seas. So work at charkha in every house. If you do so, if you depend on that charkha God Lakshmi will again be attached with that thread and remain in our shoulders. That sudarsan chakra (the discus of Vishnu) alone can cut off the administration of the oppressive, sinful, insolent and wicked ruler. Depend on that *arat* (charkha), which is sudarsan chakra, and those happy days will come back.

Intoxicating things - do not spend your money uselessly on intoxicating things. This administration is being conducted in such a way that we are being advised to take intoxicating things. But taking intoxicating things we have lost everything that we had. But

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who gets the profit. That wicked (ruler) gets the profit. For nothing he takes away 19 crores of rupees every year from our earnings for supplying intoxicating things. So for reducing his income and for doing good to ourselves all should give up (the use of) intoxicating things. Do not send money to foreign countries by taking intoxicating things uselessly. From today all of you be determined to give up intoxicating things.

My last advice is that you should not institute any cases. Do not litigate. Do not fear this police at all. By fearing, everything has been lost, how long will you fear ? There remain mere bones and flesh and blood have dried up. How long will it take you to awake from sleep ? By fearing everything has been lost. Why will you fear ? They are mere hollow threats. 100 gandas (ganda-4) of such servant dogs can do nothing. Have they done anything to anybody ? Compromise the disputes among yourselves. If you be beaten by your brother, if you be abused by your brother, prostrate yourself at his feet. Why will you prostrate yourself at the feet of those dogs ? If you go to those dogs, they will bit you ; and when that poison spreads through your body, you will give everything that you have. If mad all intelligence disappears. Do you know what happens when you submit a plaint there i.e. when you file a plaint in the suit ? You pay there (into court) what you have earned and accumulated. From the beginning there was falsehood. There was no justice in this. Only he who has money wins the case. So brothers, none of you fear the police and none of you go to the police. Do not go to the

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cutcherry. There is no fear. Do not be afraid. It is the jail that you are afraid of, but brothers the jail is the gateway to our heaven. "For you the jail is the door to heaven and the jingling of the fetters is like the music of the lute."

We all are on a big jail. if we cannot act according to our wish and if we have no power to speak a word, then what is it but a jail ? Why will you fear these men ? If you fear these dogs, you become worse than dogs. Brothers, hear me "When an elephant walks through a bazar thousands of dogs bark." Let them note down what they like. How much will they write ? What have they done by writing so much ? To note down in this way is only to threaten you. None of you should fear them.

Oppression is committed not only for money but terrible oppression is being committed on religion. What shall I say about the Punjab oppressions and Khilafat wrongs. You will weep if you hear of them. I spoke something about them in the last meeting. I tell you something which happened here recently. Hear me, I was at Malikahuda. You might have known Trailokya Babu Deputy. While I was staying in that Math, two Chaukidars reached the Math and said to the Babaji "The deputy babu has sent us, please give us fish." What would that poor man do ? He said (to the Chaukidars) "Go and tell the deputy babu that I am absent and that fish are never caught from that pond." What great oppression is this. He is a Brahmin, who is lord over 36 castes. Moreover he is a Mahanta and our Guru. The deputy babu is demanding fish from him to whom sin attacks if he happens to hear of fish and flesh. Brothers, if fish is

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demanded from the Mahanta, would they not be demanding your daughters and daughters-in-laws. What is this due to ? It is due to that oppressive, wicked and sinful government. It is the duty of the king to put a stop to oppressions and wrongs and to protect religion, but this wicked and oppressive government is teaching (people) to commit wrong and sinful acts. Wealth is destroyed, religion is destroyed, life (duration of life) is destroyed and family is destroyed. There is no safety. Take shelter under that sudarsan chakra. That *arat* (charkha) god will save us. Sudarsan chakra will cut off all oppressions and bring us happiness. We will no more suffer from scarcity and famine from year to year.

Before the end of this month of June i.e. upto the 30th June we want one crore of members and 25 lakhs of charkhas in India. All persons, both men and women above 21 years of age, can become congress members by paying an annual subscription of four annas. We will hold no more meetings. We will go from house to house to make members. So those who are willing may come forward to become members by paying four annas. Pay into this lota (brass pot) whatever you like for the Tilak Swaraj fund. Give a pice, a half pice, whatever you like. Then the meeting was dissolved after shouting "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai."

VI

Speech delivered by Ram Das Babaji on 21-6-21 on the sands of the Kathjuri river near Fatemukha Buruja (bastion) Town, Cuttack

Ram Das Babaji stood and said, Brothers, big leaders and men like Mahatma Gandhi

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delivered speeches here, what more will men like myself explain to you. But I shall tell you something about the injustice done at today's trial of Rajkrishna Bose who has been sent to jail. His trial was not just. Some of the witnesses brought by the police were relatives of Dafadars and Chaukidars. They were bribed to give evidence. They said what they liked and they were not cross examined and their statements were not protested. Mahatma Gandhi and all said that the people of Orissa are very timid. But today they are not timid, today they are lions and we should know that from today we get Swaraj. Government servants and police officers joined together to send Raj Krishna Bose to jail. He also went to jail smiling with a cheerful heart. I call it jail, because the sarkar calls it jail. But really that is no jail, that is our Jagannath's temple and mosque of our Musalman brothers and our Topaban (forest for practising sacred austerities). Our God Srikrishna was born in that place (i.e. jail). Rajkrishna Bose went today. We all are ready to go to that religious place. Nobody should be afraid of this. This is no doubt a great zulum. But today you have seen with your own eyes the oppressions committed in the court upon our brothers by government servants and ordinary police officers. We should not go to the court which is a urinal and a great hell. We therefore always advise you to decide your disputes by panchayats. The month of June is drawing to a close. The object is to break down the machinary of the sarkar (government). Let not our lectures enter through one of your ears and pass through the other ear. Time is very short. Do not go to make water in that court

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where such zulum was practised. Mahatma Gandhi has said, "Do not go any more to the sinful, oppressive and satanic law-courts and do not pay a single pice to the sinful and satanic sarkar." Today Rajkrishna Bose was asked to furnish security of Rs. 250/- otherwise imprisonment for one year would be inflicted on him. Our bone, flesh, blood, wealth men, respect and dignity all have been taken away. We shall no more pay them a pice or a chhadam (quarter of a pice). Being a king (ruler) he will take money. That will not be. The administration of the sinful should be put a stop to. The means for breaking down the government is in your hands. God has sent the sudarsan chakra (discus of Vishnu) i.e. the *arat* (charkha), God will destroy the intricate, hypocritical and mean (chandal) policy. Oh ; brother ; what is not there in our gold (yielding) India. They come here to enjoy happiness which they have never enjoyed in their life. When here in this country a small child cries we console him by showing him the moon, but when a child cries in England they say to him, "Wait we shall send you to India," and the child ceases crying. You may infer from this what happiness they enjoy here. We are Aryans, not non-Aryans. But that government has made us non-Aryans. Brothers, you have slept very long like Kumbhakarna. There is no time to sleep any more. Try to break down this rotton machinary of administration. What is the necessity of these sinful police station. Why do you look at the sinful ? Your India is your home. Why do you give it to foreigners ? Why are you carrying on the administration of foreigners ? What you call law-courts are houses of prostitutes and

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houses for trade and in these courts there are Bharuas (pimps) who play on Dubi and Tabla (musical instruments), here the speaker explained to the people, brothers, the dresses of pleaders are like the dresses of prostitutes. They put all within those dresses and the Hakims sit on chairs and tables and play on Dubi and Tabla (musical instruments). There are dogs, some of whom are true to their salt, some are bribe takers and some lick the feet (of their masters). Some of them write in papers and some publish the Hitabarta. Here also there are some dogs who lick the feet, they sit here and note down (something pointing towards us) you knave, you are not true to your salt. sarkar should not be trusted. In Angul (the sarkar) killed the Raja, through the prince who poisoned him (Raja) and promised to make the prince the Raja of Angul. But in the end (the sarkar) said to the prince, "You acted treacherously towards your father, you are not fit for becoming a Raja." You should not respect or revere such a government. Oh ! You bastard, Oh ! you sinner, Oh. ! you thief ! has not any one seen your (miserable) condition ? Oh ! you nimakharam (untrue to your salt), you hide your dung in water after attending to nature's call, so that no one will see it. "What other course is there left for a vile person." So long as there is a drop of blood in our veins (lit. bodies) we shall try to break down this machinery. We shall grind down that machinery into powder (lit. sands). I cannot say anything more. After this, my brother Gobinda Misra will speak something in this connection.

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VII

Speech delivered by Ram Das Babaji at Kendrapara on 25-6-21

Babaji Ram Das at the beginning of his speech spoke highly of the house (family) of Narendra of Kendrapara. He said, "Narendra is on the earth as Indra is in heaven." The house (family) of that Narendra is ruined. The sarkar did not protect the house (family) of that Narendra. Being the protector, they (sarkar) became devourers. If (family of Narendra) was ruined by litigation. The sarkar did not compromise (their cases). If they had been compromised whence would the three storied court buildings be built ? On the pretext of effecting compromise the sarkar said "Bring the plaint (Arji) i.e. bring what you have earned and accumulated, we shall consider the matter." This is their policy.

India has no other means of deliverance except by non-co-operation policy. The policy of non-co-operation is to be maintained in the same way as the chastity of women is protected. People do not adopt the policy of non-co-operation for fear of the jail. They are mistaken in that. The jail is our sacred place because you have read in Bhagabat that God Srikrishna was born in the jail of Kansa. So, why should we fear the jail ? Brothers ! we should keep no connection with the great sinner. He who is sinful becomes angry at a trifle and again commits sin. Why will that sinner fear what is wrong ? He who loots our property is a sinner, why should we fear him ?

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There is room for twenty thousands persons in the jails of the sarkar throughout India. Thieves and others who are now in these jails may amount to half of the number i.e. to ten thousand nearly. We are 32 crores of people. Whence will the sarkar get room to keep so many people in the jails. You vainly fear the gun, the cannon and the jails of the sarkar. There is no more time to fear the sinful. Through fear you have been reduced to the present miserable condition. It is in nobody's power to cover with rags the smoke of that great sacrifice viz. the policy of non-co-operation, which has now been commenced by Gandhi. This smoke has spread throughout India. So brothers, it will not do if you sit in your house out of fear for the sinful. The British government spends two lakhs of dollars i.e. three lakhs of rupees to circulate a newspaper in America with a view to inform the people of that country that the people of India live in happiness and that they have no wants. But you all know that we do not get one meal during three or four days. This is a new way in which the sinful conceal their sin. But this object of theirs has not been fulfilled, for twelve educated young men of India have gone to America and have accepted service under bakers and have informed the people of that country of the real condition of India and the people of that country being informed of the real condition of this country are setting agitations afoot.

Our brother, Rajkrishna Bose who after passing the I.A. examination was studying medical science and whose father is the head clerk in the Angul police office, adopted the

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non-co-operation policy. But he said nothing against the sarkar. I have abused the sarkar many times and am abusing the sarkar. But although he said nothing, the very sinful sarkar was afraid of him and sent him to jail. The object is that when the people of Orissa, who are cowards like sheep, see that one man has been sent to jail, nobody of them will adopt the policy of non-co-operation. But brothers those days of Orissa are gone. The Oriya brothers have learnt to hate the great sinners and they took brother Raj Krishna to jail after welcoming him like son-in-law by giving him garlands of flower etc. So you do not fear the sinful government and help according to your power and liking. There is no more time.

VIII

Proceedings of non-co-operation meeting held at Demal (Aul) on 15-8-21 by Ram Das

Hindu and Musalman brothers, today I wish to say a few things to you. Previously many meetings have been held in Aul. You have heard what that sinful government, that oppressive government, during their administration of India for 200 years, have done to us. Mahatma Gandhi and Maulanas Mahammad Ali and Saukat Ali after understanding well the administrative policy of the government are warming you. Still you are not coming to your senses and you have not yet tried to spin thread with arats in every house and to weave cloths. Bilati (english) cloths will not yet tried to spin thread with arats in every house and to weave cloths. Bilati (english) cloths will not come to this country any more. In Bombay many

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Marwaris have burnt Bilati cloths. You work the *arat* (charkha) in every house, otherwise you will be put to great difficulty. How long will you live by eating Muthisag (a kind of culinary vegetable leaves). Do not trust that sinful government by which the Raja of Kanika is being guided. We have endured the trouble to which the Raja of Kanika out of fear of that sarkar (government) has put us for one month and a half. We lay under trees without food for several days in rain and storm. For what purpose ? For the good of the world, "Every drop of blood for the good of the world." That Raja of Kanika is collecting many kinds of unjust taxes from his innocent tenants. By God's grace, many persons from his elaka (killa) have become members. Why have you invited the Court-of-Wards ? Why are you inviting into your house that sarkar, under whose regime for 200 years you have enjoyed so much happiness ? Your sufferings will be great. The lands which you were enjoying as jagirs will be taken away. The Court-of-Wards will manage (Aul) for 5 years, 6 months out of that period have passed. If you had any dislike for the Raja, would it not have been remedied. The Raja will do you good. You will live with him for ever. We had a talk with the Raja of Aul this morning for 3/4 hours. From it we have understood how great a man he is and how great and high his heart is. What good he desire of his tenants ? There are some persons among you who have not paid rents for 20/25 years, still no force or zulum is used against them. Will you retain the same advantage under the Court-of-Wards ? If you do not pay rents within one year, rents will be realised by the attachment of your house. You

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will be compelled to pay the rents under the zulum. Sufferings will befall you. The Raja Sahib is like a God and is ready to sacrifice his life for you. Do not consider the Maharaja of Aul to be an ordinary man. There is no one else to protect you. Do not be deceived by what the Court-of-Wards say. Do not mix with them. if you are really Hindus and if there is Aryan blood in your heart, then do not be deceived by what the satanic government say. They are swindlers. They are carrying on the administration freely only by always creating quarrels between Hindus and Musalmans. You have heard about Dasapalla oppression and the Punjab atrocities. The house of this maharaja of Aul was broken by the ordinary servants of government. You act according to the words of humble tenants. Musalman brothers, it is a matter of great regret that today cow slaughter has been committed in yonder Aul. Now-a-days in many town cow slaughter is not being committed. Mahatma Gandhi, Maulanas Mahammad Ali and Saukat Ali and other great men are undergoing sacrifices, travelling from village to village and trying their best to strengthen the unity between the Hindus and the Musalmans. But it is a matter of great regret that you are not following their example. The racial quarrel between the Hindus and Musalmans is regarding this cow killing and the government is at the root of this quarrel. They are freely carrying on the administration by creating quarrels between these two communities. There are 33 crores of people in the whole of India and the number of the white people is one lakh, who are like straws, floating in a river. If the 30 crores of people make water at one place, then one lakh

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white people will be borne away on the flood (of that urine). But for want of that unity, one lakh white people are trampling us down. Other nations have been awakened on our behalf, The Armereans have telegraphed to England saying "If you (the english) will not give independence to Ireland, Egypt and India, then we (the Armereans) will wage war against you." Still the Indians are not awaking from sleep. When will they awake ? A well-known man of the Punjab has written, "Arise, gird up your loins, why do you fear ? See what happens and what God is doing." My request to the Musalman brothers is that they should not kill cows anymore. It requires no explanation. How useful the cow is in this India ? Why does ghee sell at Rs. 4/- per seer today ? I have nothing special to say. Say "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai," "Maulanas Mahammad Ali and Saukat Ali ki jai," "Aul Maharaja ki jai", "Haribol".

IX

Speech delivered by Ram Das Babaji on 19-8-21 in Kendrapara town, Cuttack district

I am glad to learn that a Gorakshini (cow protection) sabha has been established in this Kendrapara town. Why should we not do so ? Shall we fear anymore this sinful sarkar (government) ? Brothers see, in this India we are 33 crores of Hindus, Musalmans and Christians. What will one lakh of white englishmen do to us ? The base-born sarkar (government) are very clever. See they cause cows to be slaughtered for their own food but they lay the blame on our shoulders and they are creating quarrels among ourselves. We the

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Hindus and the Musalmans are ruined by quarrelling among ourselves. If we calculate we shall find that we give the englishmen in India 5 lakhs of cows to eat at the rate of 5 cows per head per year. Fie to our lives ! I have travelled in many places and found that Musalmans of Gaya, Calcutta and of many other places have started Gorakshini sabhas. Then dear Musalaman brothers, dear Hindu brothers and dear Christian brothers, why should we fear ? We should keep no connection with this sinful and villainous sarkar (government). Mahatma Gandhi says, "We should no more endure the sins of this sinful government." Why should we suffer such difficulty by wading through water and mud and by entreating the boatman to carry us across the river and without taking food and water, and come to institute cases in these courts, in the courts of these sinful men ? Why have you no-co-villagers and village brothers ? I have come from Kanika recently. There in Dalikaenda mouza, panchayat has been established. They have raised nearly 200 rupees. In Kanika village also much money has been collected. In every house they say, "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai." Throughout India all have been roused. How long can this sinful sarkar (government) last ? Allah ho Akbar, Allah ho Akbar, Allah ho Akbar. When shall we drive away this villainous english nation ? Oh ! brothers, no more delay. The time of the sinful is nearly over. This is my prayer to you, "Do not slaughter cows any more or do not sell them for the purpose of slaughter, do not fear this sinful sarkar (government). I know this Oriya well. If there are any faults please excuse. "Jai Mahatma Gandhi ki jai."

Sd. Ananda Chandra Pati
Oriya Translator to Government

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Appendix - 5

(I) EXTRACT FROM SPEECH DELIVERED BY JADUMANI MANGARAJ AT KANTAPARA ON 19-9-1921

People were saying to me before. "Why have you joined the non-co-operation movement ? Your brother is a servant of the Raja of Kanika. His services will be dispensed with and the lands which your brother has taken lease of from the Raja, he will take off. You need not come to Kanika." But rather let me lose my life, be sent to gaol, my children and relations be begging from door to door, I am firm. I wo'nt retrace my steps in the least for that. Mahatma Gandhi says that goal is our heaven where we are ready to live gladly. 63 boys from the Rajkanika School owing to Headmaster's oppression have come out and been staying in the mango tope of Kantapara hat for the last 3 days. Their wearing cloth and even their beddings from the hostel are refused to them. They are taking their meals on the road side and sleeping under a tree. Seeing their distress some amlas of the Raja for setting up the matter with a view to taking the boys back to the school, spoke to their superior officers, but the superior officers replied, If the boys are willing to read, let them read, otherwise let them go away. We shall set everythings right." Previous to this. letters were addressed to the guardians of boys that their boys had joined non-co-operation. Upon

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these boys depend the future hopes of our country. If the boys do not like to read here, let them read in our national school. Brethren, Maulanas Muhammad Ali and Saukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew have been arrested. We need not be sorry for that. Today at the foot of this *Gandhibata* is established our *Swaraj*. Nothing more I have to say.

(ii) Translation of proceedings of a non-co-operation meeting held by Jadumani Mangaraj, near Cutchery on 28-9-1921

Revered gentlemen, today my brother Ram Das has been arrested by that satanic government. Ram Das Babaji, a person in rags, who has not a house or home, is arrested, and for whom ? It is for the good of the Kanika people, and only through the sins of school teachers. The consequence of this sin, the Raja of Kanika must have to suffer one day. One day he shall have to atone for this. What shall he have to suffer from ? The school shall close, the cutchery shall be vacated. No tenant of Kanika shall pay rent. By the arrest of Ram Das, in the history of Kanika a stain will be put upon the glory of Kanika. One day the people of Kanika must have to atone for this. Did Ram Das commit theft ? Did he trespass into anybody's house and oppress him ? In this if anybody say that there is justice in British rule, then why should not mother India be barren ? You perceive the justice of english government and notice its liberality. Ram Das is arrested on account of school teachers. The school teachers tutored the tender-minded boys that Ram Das pulled some body's ears, snatched cloth from someone etc., which they got written from boys to get Ram Das arrested. I have put my brother-boys under the care of teachers for

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making men of them, teaching them virtue, freedom, self-sacrifice, patriotism. But they to arrest Ram Das, are teaching them satanic behaviour. Ram Das, a medicant at whose feet the Raja Bahadur falls, and our forefathers have been falling-they teach (them) to arrest. Teacher's work is full of responsibilities. By such responsible monsters what work will be done ? What teaching will be imparted ? In India tere is no want of teachers. By such teachers the boys will grow to be monsters. People of Kanika ; keep 4 or 5 wives and beget children, and put them under these monsters. They will have a very nice education. O God, I pray to Thee, English education go to dogs ! A graduate of 18 years standing could not prevail upon boys to be kept under control. If he cannot, then let him resign. Headmaster babu was instructing Inspector babu to handcuff Ram Das. Alas, what a cruel heart ! You too are an Indian and son of India. Ram Das whom Raja Bahadur looked after, apologised to, to see him handcuffed is an unfulfilled desire. If it is longed for to fulfil that desire I am ready to pay railway fare. On 30th instant most probably I shall be arrested at Cuttack. I shall put on handcuff. Sir, go there and fulfil your desire. On my hand fetters will look very well, and why ? For freedom of India a boy has sacrificed his life - made an offering of his life into the strife for swaraj. The Irish people for the last 100 years have been fighting with the english for liberty. They don't want colonial freedom. For this the english captured Maxwell (?) their leader. That great soul did not touch the food offerred by the english. In jail without food and drink he remained for 74 days and died. At the time of death the heavenly spirit of the great man must have uttered a curse to the english, the consequence of which they shall have to suffer. Another chief leader De. Valera was

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fighting against the english. The premier Lloyd George sent a letter inviting him. But the great man trampled upon the premier's letter and threw it away. At last getting a letter from Emperor George he went to London. He had an impression that his head would be cut off. But, what a wonder ! To take him to the palace state carriage was sent. He was seated upon the carriage and the english drew the carriage as horses and took him to the emperor. See ! what glory is of truth and justice ! You have read in history the story of Rana Pratap, the Raja of Mewar. That Pratap for the good of the country, with little children was eating bread prepared from the seeds of Soan (a kind of grass). Brethren, an independent Raja for upholding the freedom of his country, what a great suffering had to endure. You are hesitating to undergo sufferings, why ? Jail is my heaven. The great monstrous oppression of the english, the great torture, the wailings of mother India, can no longer be tolerated. Jesus Christ while being crucified was giving instruction. Dhruba ran into the forest leaving mother. Why are you not freeing yourselves from the affection of your wives and children ? Why are you not making an offering of your lives into the sacrificial fire of swaraj ? My last request is, keep painted the picture of mother India. Look at the picture of oppression to mother India, the picture of nakedness ! My brethren, boys, let every one of you be a *Nabhidatta. Nabhidatta* while in the womb of his mother being impatient to fight said to her, "Deliver me up quickly, I shall fight." The english with the help of students have conquered India. With the help of students, they have defeated the Germans. My beloved brethren, take leave of your mother and come, throw your life into the sacrificial fire of swaraj. I pray to God, may he put strength into the weal heart !

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Appendix - 6

(I) B. N. ROY, COLLECTOR, CUTTACK ; LETTER TO RAJA R. N. BHANJA DEO, O.B.E., RAJKANIKA, DATED 22-1-1922

Collector's House
Cuttack
The 22nd January, 1922

D.O. No. 35-Res
Dear Raja Saheb,

I enclose a copy of telegram just received. Will you very kindly let me have some details about the matter as soon as possible ? I understood some time ago you were having a survey made of your estate. What are your terms of settlement and what do the tenants offer to pay ?

Yours sincerely
Sd/ B. N. Roy

Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, O.B.E.
Rajkanika.

(ii) Copy of telegram dated 22-1-22

To Collector, Cuttack

New settlement objectionable ready for original rent but refused. Oppression expected.

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Dinabandhu Khandaitray, Sadananda Rasik-ray, Purnananda Rautray, Kalpataru Choudhury, Rangadhar Panda, Lambodar Mahapatra, Joyram Rai, Hari Samal and others nearly two thousand tenants Chhamuka Kanika.

(iii) Raja R. N. Bhanja Deo's reply to Mr. Roy, Collector, Cuttack ; dated 25-1-22

Rajkanika
25-1-22

Dear Mr. Ray,

Your D.O. No. 35-Res of the 22nd of January enclosing copy of telegram from some tenants of my estate. It shows the result of an agitation set of foot by some non-co-operators with the help of three local people. One of them Joyram Rai was a teacher of the high school here who has been placed under suspension and will have to be removed from service. The other was a pupil of the school who having got up a strike among the school boys left it and joined the non-co-operation movement. The third was a teacher of a primary school here who has been dismissed from service for unbecoming conduct by the District Inspector of Schools.

As I informed you personally the non-co-operators who were working here gave the people to understand that when swaraj came in they would be freed from payment of rents, and taxes, repayment of loans, etc. By this means they attracted the sympathy of the people here. About the time they expected swaraj, orders were received for the increase of chowkidary

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taxes. This formed a nucleus for dissatisfaction among the people to which they added some other frivolous objections. The present state of feelings of the people in the country caused by preachings of civil disobedience and disregard for authorities has had some effect here as elsewhere. Lastly some of the big people joined the movement in their own interests and formed a combination. The past history of the estate shows that there is always a tendency among the people here to get up a combination, immediately to withhold payment of rents and send sensational telegrams to government officials. The present situation is no doubt another example of same.

Of the signatories to the telegram, the first three Dinabandhu Khandaitray, Sadananda Rasikray & Purnananda Rautray are three brothers who are big money-lenders. There are always complaints in regard to their dealings with the people. Their inclination to deprive the poor debtors of their landed interests is often discouraged by us. This is a cause of their dis-satisfaction. The first viz. Dinabandhu Khandaitray took prominent part in the combination which took place in 1906 when Babu Khitish Chandra Sarkar, Deputy Magistrate & Deputy Collector, was manager of the estate. This fact was brought to the notice of the collector at the time. Kalpataru Chowdhury and Lambodar Mahapatra are also money-lenders. Joyram Ray's case has been noticed above. Rangadhar Panda and Hari Samal are ordinary tenants.

As regards the new settlement objected to by the people what is called "new settlement" was made some six years ago. The rents were

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fixed by amicable settlement and paid all these six years without a single objection. Their objection to pay these rents after so many years is rather strange. Some of them offered payment of rents as they existed six years back which was refused. On account of the present combination among the people of a portion of elaka Chhamuka they have withheld payment of rents due this month. However the combination has been partly got over but those who have not paid up have been intimidating in various ways those who have paid up. I hope the people will gradually come round. If they do not legal steps will be taken against them in due course.

I am leaving for Delhi today. I have instructed my manager to keep you informed of the situation from time to time and seek your help when necessary.

Yours sincerely
Sd/ R. N. Bhanja Deo

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Appendix - 7

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF TWO ORIYA PAMPHLETS OF H. K. MAHATAB AND HIS ARREST ORDER, AS FOUND IN KANIKA DARBAR RECORDS

KANIKA NEWS

The interests of the landlords and their tenants are generally opposed to each other. Long since it was heard that the Raja Saheb of Kanika had merged his own interests with those of others. For that reason even the people of the country had faith in him. But since the commencement of the non-co-operation movement things have assumed a different shape. By doing a little work and keeping friendship with editors of newspapers some praise can be had every week. By such newspaper praises up to this day the general public were carried away. But that day has passed. Without actual work nobody could be moved. Situation in Kanika is similar. As reported oppression in Kanika is much more than that in ordinary zamindaries. The very name of Garhjat reminds of a scene of oppression. Although Kanika is an ordinary zamindary it has by artificial means turned into a Garhjat. The good name of Raja Saheb through the columns of newspapers, his

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acquaintance with the Viceroy and the Governors, at times his being an on-looker of the dancing gestures and loud thumping on the table of vincent and others, his looking upon the smiling face of reading saheb and his occasional visits to Delhi on some other business-all these have artificial means helped Kanika to be a Garhjat. Indeed the impression which the public have formed to Raja Bahadur from outside must needs be changed, if one goes a little deep into the matter. Of course the Raja Saheb is managing estate affairs on the line of the bureaucratic rule. As a result the tenantry are badly oppressed (be he manager or a tahsildar). Raja Bahadur without relying upon the words of the tenants has confidence in his servants. The Kanika sarkar has thought that he would stop the waves of non-co-operation movement stretching out both his hands. This much should be remembered that the awakening of the people caused by non-co-operation movement will lower down the head, not to speak of Kanika, but even of Delhi sarkar. Raja saheb is intelligent. He must be alive to the spirit of the time. We request him this much that he may always bear in mind that honour can never be won from newspapers nor by making friendship with Governor and Governor-General. But it can only be had from the hearts of the poor and afflicted. Let Raja saheb win their hearts so that he will no longer have to incur so much expenses, nor be put to so much trouble.

The Kanika people have become very impatient. It is fit that they should be so. They have to submit to two-fold oppression. Firstly of Delhi

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sarkar, secondly of Kanika sarkar. It will not do to become impatient. We have suffered so long, and what more we have to suffer who can say. We were unconscious. For that reason were putting up with oppressions. Now we are awakened. To remove that unconsciousness what sufferings they will inflict. But it won't do to be impatient with them. Let the faint light of that awakening be kept up in our hearts, at last like a wild-fire that light will grow furious. That light will serve as a guide to many countries.

About this we will discuss later on.

(Sd.) Harekrushna Mahtab
Secretary, District Congress Committee
Balasore

TO THE STUDENTS

In view of the present state of the country and of the change of time every Indian should ask himself "What is my duty at the present juncture ? Whether I shall stand by India or go against her or be a mere spectator ? This is time for war. On one side the British government armed with brute force and intoxicated with power is determined to keep the Indians in perpetual slavery and unwilling to reckon them as human beings. The Indian, on the other hand, by his spiritual force is determined to live as man. The battle is fierce and this is the last battle. Either the name of India be stamped out of the world or India be independent. At this juncture every Indian should think what should be his duty. Every class and community has

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chalked out its line of action, heard the piteous wailings of its mother and responded to the trumpet call. But the student are still dull and inhert, show no sing or life yet. No response is yet forthcoming. Rather the students are standing against their country. In every age and in every country it is the student that come to the fore-front in a war. During the war between England and Germany it was the students who rushed to the battle field by leaving their schools and colleges and throwing away their books. During the Russo-Japanese war, Japanese students levelled a ditch with their own bodies to facilitate the march of their soldiers. During the Austro-Mungarian friction it was the students that took the lead. It was due to the youths only that Italy gained her independence. What is the wish of the youths of India and specially those of Balasore in Orissa ? Nothing is yet known. While India is tottering pale faced students are present in their schols with books in their armpits. Is this the result of education ? The matriculation examination will take place. How many students after how much preparation by wasting midnight oil have come to have their knowledge recognised by government inimical to their country. Here is a fight in the country and there is fight between pen and paper in the examination hall. Here many a noble soul is insulted by the guards and cheerfully suffering the humiliation in jails and there the students with their pale faces surrounded by guards in the examination hall are showing the difference between "Imperious and Imperial." Today so many youths are anxious for their examination. If they had

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proper education their faces would have been cheerful by the hope of independence and their eyes would have been filled with tears at the sight of the miseries of the millions of their brethren. Brethren, what is the use of such passes which prevent you from serving your mother land and even feeling of your country men. Is there any who goes without food in this world ? Cats and dogs even fill their stomachs full. Why are you so anxious to feed yourselves ? Remember the future history will record your acts again and again. While the Indians were groaning for centuries under foreign yoke with acute humiliation, while she troubled to get a ray of independence, while she was suffocating under the cruel oppression of the foreigners, struggling and gasping for a puff of oxygen, then the students tying her hands and feet, shut her up and threw her on the floor and paid no heed to her wailings. When the hope of independence swelled in their hearts like a mountain and elected them then the students doubtful of the victory of the battle retreated. This will be proclaimed in the future history from age to age. Brethren if you want that millions of your brethren to live as man, throw off your books and come ; run to the moffosil and preach the gospel of independence. This sin must perish, the brute force must be crushed, the kingdom of virtue must be set up and it must. The golden age (Ramrajya) must return. Being scions of Aryans, being sons of lions don't be scared away by the yelling of jackels. Don't be cowards in the cause of religion. Exhibit your valour in this virtuous war. Leave your name and fame from age to age. Don't prove

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yourselves as cowards by retreating. Glorify your life by work.

(Sd.) Harekrushna Mahtab
Dated 25-2-22. Secretary, District Congress Committee, Balasore

Balasore district : In the court of the District Magistrate of Balasore.

Mis. No. 98 of 1922.

Emperor ...... versus ...... Harekrushna Mahtab

Section 108 Cr. P.C.

Serial No. of Order	Date of Order	Order with initials of the Magistrate
7	18-7-22	Order passed. Accused ordered to execute a bond of Rs. 1000/- with 2 respectable surities of Rs. 500/- each to be of good behavior for one year or in default remain in jail to undergo R.I. for that period.

(Sd.) S. L. Gupta
District Magistrate
Balasore

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Appendix - 8

LETTER OF RAJA RAJENDRA NARAYAN BHANJA DEO TO MR. KELSO, DEPUTY INSPECTOR- GENERAL OF POLICE, CUTTACK, DATED 25-1-1923

(Among the Kanika darbar records, this typed letter with corrections was found. The author has brought out the fare copy of this letter, because it highlights unknown facts of Kanika Meli 1921-22. The original fare letter should be searched among the records of D.I.G. of Police, Cuttack)

Confidential

Rajkanika
25.1.23

My dear Kelso,

In course of conversation the other day you asked me to give you full information regarding the activities of non-co-operators in Panchmuka (the Balasore portion of Kanika) which caused a strong combination among the tenants and resulted in serious overt acts and disorder. It is necessary, in order to gauge the real situation in Panchmuka, to say what real non-co-operation means, as well as the steps taken by the non-co-operators to

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create disorder in the country. The trouble in Panchmuka was entirely due to the disorderly state of things then prevailing all over Orissa.

Non-co-operation

The real aim and object of the non-co-operation movement are revolution, anarchy and sub-version of the British government though the non-co-operators hide their motives under several superficial layers of so-called philanthropic sentiments. Instances of this are very common. The real object of their assiduous preaching of temperance is to bring about a fall in the revenue of the state. To give up titles is to dishonour government. To start arbitration courts and dissuade people from going to law courts, is to defy the government and reduce their revenues. To start national schools by breaking up the government schools is only to ingrain in young minds the revolutionary principles of non-co-operation and prepare them as firebrands for future revolutionary movements. To dissuade pleaders from practising in courts is to get educated men to conduct their propaganda. The Khadar movement is meant only to bring pressure upon the government by reducing the sale of Manchester and Lancashire cloths. To abuse and attack the police and to seduce the native army from their loyalty, are steps taken to paralyse the government and bring about disorder. Lastly to disseminate sedition amongst all classes of people, is to prepare the country for a wide-spread revolution. The non-co-operators tried in every possible way to discredit and disgrace the government and the people who are loyal to the government.

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Instances are not rare where even men of light and leading as well as acknowledged leaders of the people who dared to countenance this movement with disfavour have been publicly insulted and every possible attempt made to injure them. The non-co-operators set up boys against their parents, students against teachers, tenants against masters, tenants against landlords, labour against capital and subjects against the government in order to bring about a distorted condition in every sphere of life.

General Situation

This movement which was allowed to be carried on unchecked led to a state of disorder in the whole of India. Serious breach of peace occurred almost in every part of the country and on several occasions it went beyond the control of ordinary police. So, it often became necessary for the military to resort to firing which alone could restore peace and order.

Situation in Orissa

The activities of the non-co-operators headed by Babu Gopabandhu Das of Puri were started sometimes in 1920. Large meetings were held on the sands of the Kathajori at Cuttack and such meetings were gradually held at various other places in Orissa. Boys were induced to boycott schools and colleges and join the non-co-operation movement. They got refraint towards their parents, guardians and teachers and there were several cases of strikes in several schools and the college. Cases of incendiarism occurred in government and government-aided schools and college buildings. Volunteers were

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enrolled and sent to different places for propoganda works. Mischievous songs were sung in form of kirtan to deceive the ignorant masses and seditious speeches were delivered from village to village. The police were publicly abused and insulted. It was publicly preached that the existing government had ceased or was about to cease, and that swaraj with Mahatma Gandhi at its head was about to be established and that such swaraj had already been established in some parts of India. Grotesque stories were said about the waning influence of the present government and the super-human influence of Mr. Gandhi. Pictures representing Gandhi as possessing all powers, all virtues like an incarnation of a Hindu god were shown everywhere. In addition to these, most attractive and brightest hopes of the future "Gandhi Raj," were held out to the people. All these unhinged the minds of the ignorant masses who blindly followed the dictates of the mischievous non-co-operators. To make experiments of their beautiful swaraj the non-co-operators picked out some places such as Keonjhar, Banki and Kanika. The count of their activities in Keonjhar was very serious and could be put down, only with a strong hand. At Banki too the non-co-operators had, I understand, to be dealt with wrongfully. In addition to the usual propaganda their chief object was to set up the ignorant people against the recognised authorities, specially with a view to discredit and disgrace the police as by doing so they could bring about a disorderly state of things. At the beginning of 1922 a wild rumour was spread that a gang of decoits had come to Cuttack and the people were in dread of them. Sometime after this, there was a good deal of incendiarism at

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Cuttack, Puri and Balasore, and a rumour was spread that the police had been ordered by government to burn houses indiscriminately worth to put down non-co-operation movement and were being paid by government for doing so. The result was that the police were disbelieved, discredited and hated. This gradually spread to the Muffasil. The police including the choukidars were not allowed to visit the villages. Large numbers of non-co-operation volunteers enrolled as national police paraded the streets at night and did their best to set up people against the police by spreading wild rumours. Several cases of Hat looting occured in order to put down the sale of foreign cloths. Arbitration courts were set up and thus gradually there were conflicts between the people and the police at several places. This disorderly state of things was equally bad in Muffasil as in towns. Assaults upon choukidars were matters of daily occurrence. Police constables, head constables and even sub-inspectors and inspectors of police were not spread as in the Mahalhat case, in the Kendrapara sub-division, where the inspector who has the reputation of being a vcry honest and trustworthy officer, two sub-inspectors and some constables were chased, intimidated and assaulted by a mob of some hundreds. The deplorable case of a constable who was attacked by a disorderly mob of not less a thousand in the Cuttack town and assaulted in the presence of the District Magistrate and then taken to swaraj ashram where he was stripped of the king's uniform and made to wear Khadar and taken round the town, clearly indicated the great influence of the mob rule at the time. The police were not to blame for the situation as everywhere the

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non-co-operators had set up the masses against them and in addition the District Magistrate was rather apathetic towards them.

A very high and responsible officer of government remarked to me regarding this state of affairs in Orissa as "Verging to a rebellion." In this connection I wish to mention here that inspite of all these troubles and with an unsympathetic magistrate the Cuttack police did not swerve an inch from duly discharging their duties without yielding in the least to the non-co-operators whereas the Balasore police showed great weakness by seeking the co-operation of the non-co-operators and going round with them in the streets to allay fire-panic in the town. In regard to the non-co-operators their motto seems to have been "You don't disturb us, we won't disturb you ; it does not matter how much other people are disturbed." I must say that this principle followed by the Balasore police was absolutely wrong as it gave the non-co-operators an undue importance in the eyes of the public who considered the latter more powerful than the former, and thus brought the government to humiliation. However, with such a compromising attitude, the Balasore police succeeded to some extent in checking temporarily the outburst of violence there, but the non-co-operators who had gradually gained a stong impetus and influence carried on their works unchecked.

Non-co-operation movement in Kanika

From the very beginning I have been opposed to the movement as I firmly believe that it is detrimental to the cause of my country

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and will gradually pave the way to anarchy and revolution. The non-co-operators were fully aware of my views. They began their activities in Kanika specially in Panchmuka about April, 1921. Chandbali had been their stronghold from the very beginning, as they could not get a footing in Kanika itself. Harekrushna Mahtab the notorious non-co-operator of Balasore with Banchanidhi Mohanty, Radhashyam Naik and others came to Panchmuka and held a meeting at matto hat so early as 1921 (a market day) close to my elaka cutchery there. But failing to get a hearing there they came on to Chandbali and started their propaganda works. Afterwards they visited Panchmuka several times and tried to hold meetings but their attempts were frustrated by my men. In order to check the activities of the non-co-operators in Kanika I held an anti-non-co-operation meeting at Rajkanika on the 15th of June, 1921. The meeting was attended by president, panchayats of Thanas Aul, Rajnagar and Chandbali and some respectable people of my estate. The evils and dangers of the non-co-operation movement were clearly explained to them and they were advised to impress the same upon the people at large, and take steps to prevent the activities of the non-co-operators. A copy of the proceedings of the meeting, which was sent to government with my letter no. 625, dt.17/6/21 is enclosed for reference (vide : Appendix). The proceedings of this meeting upset the minds of the non-co-operators who looked upon same as a challenge. After this they set themselves to work in right earnest and bring about troubles in my estate. A "swaraj ashram" was started at Chandbali in June, 1921 and placed in charge of one

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Radhashyam Naik of Nichantipara, P.S. This ashram was made the stronghold of the non-co-operators from where they started in batches to Panchmuka and Chhamuka to carry on their propaganda works. Chandbali being a port and a place of public resort with communications from all directions, as well as a central place with every approach to all parts of Kanika, was considered the most suitable place for the non-co-operators of both districts. Finding that they would get no support anywhere in Kanika the non-co-operators of the Cuttack district had already opened an ashram at Aul with the help of the proprietor of that estate and there was always regular communication between the non-co-operators at Aul and Chandbali.

About the 2nd of July, 1921 non-co-operator Ram Das (a vagabond fire-brand) with some other non-co-operators came from Chandbali by beating a drum the whole way from there to Rajkanika, and convened the first regular meeting in village Ganja in Chhamuka. The party moved about in the interior for about a week but as they failed to get any support or even shelter, they left Kanika. About the 24th of that month Ram Das again came to Rajkanika with a strong party of non-co-operators including Madhusudan Patnaik and Jadumani Mangaraj. From 25th to 29th the party moved about in the interior holding meetings and delivering lectures. On the 30th the party held a meeting at Ayeton and thence came to Rajkanika. This time they managed to remain at Kantapara. During their stay at Kantapara the party used to visit Chandbali frequently to settle their lines of action. The

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non-co-operators of the Cuttack district very often came from Aul and held several meetings at Chandbali. Kantapara served only the purpose of a 'flag station' where the non-co-operators used to halt in course of their journeys between Aul and Chandbali.

On receiving further reports of opposition from me and my employees, non-co-operator Atal Behari Acharya, Secretary to the Cuttack Congress Committee with a dozen of non-co-operators came to Chandbali and held sankritan there. On the evening of 4-8-21 Atal babu arrived at Rajkanika with non-co-operator Radhashyam Naik and others of Chandbali ashram holding kirtan all along their journey from there. A few days after this, non-co-operator Madhusudan Patnaik visited Chandbali and from there proceeded to matto. There he attempted to hold a meeting which was opposed by my men. Soon after they opened an ashram at matto and placed it in charge of Santha Behera of Panchmuka. Some of the outside non-co-operators repeatedly attempted to hold meeting near about Ghanteswar during June and July but on account of opposition from my men they could not.

On the 24th of September Bhagirathi Mahanti alias Mahapatra (who had been served with notice U/S 144 in the Cuttack district) and Jadumani Mangaraj (another firebrand) visited Chandbali. The same day they left for matto and held a meeting there. The following day they were garlanded and with several other non-co-operators including Bhagaban Dikshit, Gayadhar Samal, Banamali Naik, Santha Behera of Panchmuka and others they held a meeting

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in the morning at Narendrapur where an ashram was opened and placed in charge of Gayadhar Samal. In the afternoon they held another meeting at Ghanteswar hat where some members were enlisted and subscriptions raised for Tilak swaraj fund.

Harekrushna Mahtab, visited Panchmuka a second time vide : Chakradhar Behera's letter dated 25-1-22 to him exhibited in 107 case of Panchmuka. Between July and December, 1921 several meetings were held by the non-co-operators in Panchmuka in villages Kherang, Gopinathpur, Kesharpur, Totapara, Haldia, Taraf Raipur, Biriadia, Raipur Sendgari, Bramnatikiri, Ankpara, Mainpur, Baliapal, Hattapur Jantulai, Noonisahi and Khadalpokheri. Where ever my officers went to the interior on duty, the non-co-operators formed a procession, held sankirtan and sung audacious songs in their very presence, just to make the people defiant and prove to them that neither government nor my officers could do anything to check their activities. So great was the influence of the propaganda works on that side that large sums of money and even ornaments from women in the interior (chherak and other villages) were collected for the Tilak swaraj fund. The influence of the outside non-co-operators was so great in Panchmuka that most of the local non-co-operators were recruited from that part— boys left school and employees left service to join them.

On the 28th of September non-co-operator Ram Das was arrested by the Cuttack police under Section 108. On the following day non-co-operator Chakradhar Behera of Panchmuka

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then in the service of the Raj had the audacity to send a telegram to the S.D.O. Kendrapara protesting against Ram Das's arrest. Shortly after this he was dismissed when he openly joined the non-co-operation movement. Another employee named Gayadhar Samal of Panchmuka who also became a non-co-operator was dismissed from service.

On the occasion of visit to Rajkanika of Atal Behari Acharya, he and other non-co-operators went about holding sankirtan everyday near the school. On the 5th of August there was a strike in the school but I was able to persuade the boys to return to school. Later in that month the principal non-co-operators Jadumani Mangaraj, Ram Das, Madhusudan Patnaik and others tresspassed into the school compound, held meetings near the boy's play ground, abused the teachers, started burning of foreign cloths and induced the boys to give up school. The result was that on the 17th of September there was another strike in the school in which Bhagaban Dikshit of Raipur in Panchmuka, a student of class XII who had already embibed the principles of non-co-operation took an active part. He was the leader of the boys on strike who remained with the non-co-operators at Kantapara for 3 days, although the majority of the boys returned to school on the 4th day ; Bhagaban Dikshit and a few others did not. From that day forth Bhagaban became a declared non-co-operator and joined the movement in Panchmuka.

On receiving news of the arrest of the Ali Brothers, the non-co-operators of both districts held a big meeting at Kantapara, performed

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swaraj jajya, established swaraj and hoisted the swaraj flag on a banian tree named "Gandhibata." The importance given to this place on that occasion was due to the fact that Kanika had been selected, as one of the places in Orissa where first experiment of swaraj, according to congress principle was to be made. Jadumani Mangaraj in this meeting said, "Brothers, Mothers, Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali, and Dr. Kichhw have been arrested, we need not be sorry for that. Today at the foot of Gandhibata is established our swaraj." In this connection, I would like to quote the following extract from the judgement of the S.D.O. of Kendrapara in the 107 case against ring-leaders of meli in Chhamuka :-

"At this ceremony speeches were delivered Madhusudan Patnaik, Jadumani Mangaraj (another non-co-operator) in which they attacked the government and especially with regard to the Raja of Kanika said that the forests could not belong to him, as he did not plant the trees nor did he rear the fish and hence should not take forest and fishery dues."

How great was the intensity of the feelings of the non-co-operators against me personally can be easily gathered from the public utterances of prominent non-co-operators, extracts from which are reproduced below for ready references :-

(1) Extract from the speech of Ram Das at the non-co-operation meeting held at Demal (Aul) on 15-8-21 exhibited in case under Section 108 against Ram Das and also mentioned in the publication by the publicity bureau.

"XXX Do not trust that sinful government by which the Raja of Kanika is being guided.

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We have endured the trouble to which the Raja of Kanika out of fear of that sarkar (government) has put us for one month and a half. We lay under the trees without food for several days in rain and storm. For what purpose ? For the good of the world. Every drop of blood for the good of the world. That Raja of Kanika is collecting many kinds of unjust taxes from his innocent tenants. By God's grace many persons from his elaka (Kanika) have become members."

(2) Extract from speech delivered by the said Ram Das on 19-8-21 in Kendrapara town, Cuttack district ; exhibited in the above case.

"I have come from Kanika recently. There in Dalikainda mouza panchayat has been established. They have raised nearly 200 rupees. In Kanika village also (Rajkanika) much money has been collected. In every house they say "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai."

(3) Extract from speech delivered by Jadumani Mangaraj at a non-co-operation meeting held by him near the cutchery at Rajkanika on 28-9-21, the day of Ram Das's arrest by the Cuttack police.

"Revered gentlemen : Today my brother Ram Das has been arrested by that satanic government. Ram Das Banajee, a person in rags who has not a house or home is arrested, and for whom ? It is for the good of the Kanika people, and only through the sins of school teachers. The consequence of this sin the Raja of Kanika must have to suffer one day. One day he shall have to atone for this. What shall he have to suffer from ? The school shall close, the

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cutchery shall be vacated, no tenant of Kanika shall pay rent. By the arrest of Ram Das in the history of Kanika a stain will be put upon the glory of Kanika. One day the people of Kanika must have to atone for this."

In order to get the sympathy and co-operation of the people of Kanika the non-co-operators started their campaign with undaunted energy against me personally by holding out hopes of some immediate gain which alone could influence them. After exploring all avenues of immediate gain they hit upon the forest, fishery and land rents. Hope of reduction in the amount of rents paid for forest, fishery and land naturally appealed to the imagination of the ignorant people.

Activities of non-co-operators in Panchmuka

After dismissal from service Chakradhar Behera and Gayadhar Samal of Panchmuka with some outside non-co-operators held several meetings at which they induced the people to stop payment of rents, taxes and other Raj dues. They also instructed the people to adopt mass civil disobedience by forcibly removing timber from reserved forests, fish from Rajsarkar tanks and fruits from Rajsarkar orchards.

Between December, 1921 and April, 1922 not less than 26 important meetings were held at different centres in Panchmuka. Repeated attempts were made to prevent collections of rent and other demands on due dates. Apart from inciting the people against me and dissuading them from paying my dues by

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visiting their houses, they held a meeting on the 9th of December at Noogan Ichhapur where they publicly prevented the people from paying Taccavi, the dates for collection of which had been fixed from 15th to 17th. Their constant persuasion had a great effect and the result was that out of a demand of Rs. 30,299/- only Rs. 5,002/- was collected on the kist days. The balance was collected later on by our men by visiting village to village. In January my manager had to send for the headmen of villages and other leading tenants and induce them to pay up the rent demands which counteracted to some extent the effect of evil advice of the non-co-operators.

After the establishment of swaraj, strong organisation made with village and circle sabhas and a mahasabha in order to start civil disobedience, a strong contractors was formed in Chhamuka, the Cuttack portion, in January, 1922. The people of Panchmuka who were in close touch with those of Chhamuka very soon followed their examples and organised village and circle sabhas and mahasabha and held meetings there just as the people of Chhamuka were doing here. The people there got emboldened and joined the non-co-operators freely. On the 3rd of February, 1922, the non-co-operators and the melia tenants of Panchmuka jointly convened a meeting in village Tolapara. Magooni Sunderai who has since been bound down U/S 107 presided over that meeting. At this meeting, it was decided to stop payment of forest fees, fishery rents, pasture rents and to demand remission of 8 annas rent for the

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previous year by falsely giving out that government had granted remission of revenue in the flooded tracts.

On the 8th of February another meeting was held at Kendrapara under the presidency of Chakradhar Behera a local non-co-operator. At this meeting the people were further instructed to forcibly obtain timbers from reserve forests, catch fish from Rajsarkar tanks, rivers and jores and stop payment of grazing fees.

On 14-2-22 there was a meeting at Jaleswarpur under the presidency of Bhagaban Biswasray a mahajan who has since been bound down under Sec. 107. In addition to other matter bearers (gowalas) were prevented from carrying palkies by two of the non-co-operators Chakradhar Behera and Antarjyami Palai who are themselves gowalas by caste. At this meeting it was decided to have a mahasabha at Singti like the one at Ayetan in Chhamuka.

On 17-2-22 was held mahasabha at Singti under the presidency of Krishna Parira, a village tout who took the most mischievous part in the Panchmuka meli and presided over all the meetings of the mahasabha. At this meeting Ananda Jena who is described in para 19 of the judgement in 107 case of Panchmuka as the "arch non-co-operator of Chhamuka" read his scurilous pamphlet "Dukhini Kanika" then in manuscript in order to excite the people. This has been found by the magistrate to be a wrongful act, of the said judgement. Krishna Parira is one of those bound in the 107 case of Panchmuka and attended the last sitting.

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On 20-2-22 was held the next meeting of the mahasabha which was dispersed by the sub-inspector of Chandbali thana as there was apprehension of breach of peace. Though the meeting of the 20th was dispersed, another meeting was held two days after i.e. on the 22nd at the very place but no action was taken by the head constable who attended it. On the 26th a meeting was held at matto hat by Sulabh Sahu a big mahajan of Panchmuka (since dead) who was also bound down under Sec. 107. In addition to instructions issued at other meetings, the people were prevented at the meeting from accepting lease of Bhag and Sanja lands, and the president the richest man of Panchmuka encouraged the people by offering to meet all expenses of litigations.

The people of Panchmuka were always in close touch with those of Chhamuka as well as the non-co-operators of Balasore and Bhadrak and the agitation carried on there was done in concurrence of both as will be seen from the following telegram of Harekrushna Mahtab, Secretary to Balasore District Congress Committee, who was the guiding spirit of the non-co-operators and the melia tenants of Panchmuka. On the 22nd February, 1922, he sent the following telegram to Santha Behera a local non-co-operator :-

"Just starting, Delhi Congress meeting twenty fourth- attendence necessary- cann't go- shall go, immediately returning. Sending volunteers. Observe non-violence. Care not suffering. Congress prohibits tax, rent non-payment-peacefully resist detrimental settlement-violence undoes all-

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shun unnecessary provocation-non-violence absolutely necessary-starting about twenty ninth."

The district magistrate of Cuttack brought the above telegram particularly to the notice of the authorities of Balasore.

The telegram clearly shows the close connection of my tenants with the outside non-co-operators as instructions had been previously asked for regarding non-payment of rents and taxes, and the form of agitation they should make. Harekrushna Mahtab was asked to come down himself to carry on the agitation in Panchmuka but having failed to come he wired his instructions according to the resolutions of the congress and suggested an agitation about the settlement and sent volunteers to execute his directions. About this time he issued a leaflet dated 5-2-22 headed "Kanika news" by making most vague allegations of oppressions, etc. by my men without a single specific instance thereof and accusing me as one of the supporters of government who had tried to oppose non-co-operation movement. This leaflet which was widely distributed by Santha Behera and other non-co-operators in Panchmuka greatly incited the people against me. A translation of the whole leaflet is annexed hereto but I would like to quote the following there from :-

"The Kanika sarkar has thought that he would stop the waves of non-co-operation movement stretching out both his hands. This much should be remembered that the awakening of the people caused by non-co-operation movement will lower down the head, not to

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speak of Kanika, but even of Delhi sarkar. Now we are awakened to remove that consciousness what sufferings they will inflict. But it won't do to be impatient with them. Let the faint light of that awakening be kept up in our hearts, at last like a wild fire that light will grow furious. That light will serve as a guide to many countries."

This also is a clear evidence of the interest and incitement of non-co-operators regarding the meli in Kanika. On the face of these I cannot persuade myself to believe that the police were in absolute darkness about the non-co-operation movement in Panchmuka.

He issued another leaflet of a most seditious and inflamatory character addressed to the boys of the school. This was distributed in Rajkanika school by one Antarjyami Palai of Panchmuka who also has been bound down under Sec. 107 Cr. P.C. A translation of the leaflet is annexed hereto.

Two other leaflets headed "Swaraj Samachar" (swaraj news) and "Sarkaranka Damana niti o Santi Senara Abasyaka" (Repressive policy of government and necessity of soldiers for peace) were issued by the aforesaid Harekrushna Mahtab and distributed in Panchmuka. Both leaflets were exhibited by my employees, Narayan Prasad Mahalick, Elaka Officer of Ghanteswar and Natabar Samal, Muhurir of matto cutchery in the 108 case after Harekrushna Mahtab.

After all these had happened in Panchmuka, I found that the people there were closely

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following the footsteps of those of Chhamuka and fast drifting towards lawlessness and disorder under the mischievous influence of the non-co-operators. I sent for them on the 1st of March, 1922 and explained to them the dangers they were likely to run into. Among other things the question of settlement was raised and I clearly explained to them that either a private settlement or a settlement by government would be agreeable to me. All the people of Matto and most of the people of Ghanteswar were agreeable to a private settlement and only a few of Ghanteswar asked for time to express their opinion. I expected the situation would improve but the effects of my influence were counteracted on account of the following reasons :-

(1) The apathy and negligence of the police in that district, as the S.I. of Chandbali thana attended only one meeting of the mahasabha held at Singti on the 20th February, 1922 and that at the personal request of superintendent.

(2) Mischievous activities and excitement of the non-co-operators which gradually became more vigorous.

(3) The co-operation of the ring-leaders of Chhamuka meli, in the meeting in Panchmuka. In the meeting of the mahasabha held at Singti on 6-3-22 when among others of Chhamuka, Joyram Rai who had then been served with a notice under Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. in the Cuttack district and has same been bound down under Sec. 107 Cr. P.C. in the court of Sub-Dist. Magistrate of Kendrapara, Purnananda Routray and Ghanashyam Bal both of whom were later

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on convicted under Sec. 147 I.P.C. as well as Kalpataru Choudhury and Upendra Subudhiray who have same been bound down under Sec. 107 Cr. P.C. along with Joyram Rai were present. At that meeting my tahasildar of matto and some muhurirs who attended the meeting were insulted and driven out. Resolutions were passed to withhold payment of rents in Panchmuka as well. Both these facts are known to Mr. Hodson, the S.P. of Balasore as the then Inspector of police of Bhadrak sub-division had reported about them, about the middle of March.

On the 7th of March I received intimation of the collector's visit to Matto with the S.P. I wrote to the collector mentioning the then situation in Panchmuka which was causing anxiety and asked him to come over with the S.P. for a talk over the matter. The collector replied that he could not make time to come over and that he was leaving instructions with the police. Copies of my letter to the collector and his reply thereto are annexed.

On the 9th March I met the collector at Chandbali at Mr. Bain's house when Mr. Hodson was not there. I mentioned to Mr. Gupta about the situation and gave him some translations of Harekrushna Mahtab's leaflets. When Mr. Hodson came in Mr. Gupta showed him the translations. I saw Mr. Hodson for only a few minites before I went to see the commissioner and so I had not the opportunity of mentioning to him the details. Mr. Gupta must have mentioned everything to Mr. Hodson as he had written to me on the 8th. But the situation got

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worse after the visit of the collector and the S.P. In order to strengthen the combination and to carry on the propaganda of civil disobedience uniformly in Kanika according to the principles of the non-co-operator's, at the suggestion of P.C.C. Panchmuka was placed in the jurisdiction of Kendrapara Sub-divisional Congress Committee under the direct charge of Madhusudan Patnaik by the resolution passed in the meeting dated 12-3-22 of the Balasore District Congress Committee and was duly announced in the SAMAJ of 8-4-22, making Chandbali and Ghateswar, as the headquarters. A translation of the publication is attached hereto. Several meetings were held between 6-3-22 and 15-4-22 (as will appear from the abstract note annexed) at which the people were instructed to commit overt acts in various shapes such as cutting timber from reserve forest, catching fish from Rajsarkar tanks, forcibly realising fines and committing zulum by intimidating, boycotting and assulting my employees and servants and other tenants that did not join the meli. They also withheld payment of rents in obedience to the resolutions of the sabhas.

About the 19th of March my forest and fishery Inspector found a large number of tenants of Panchmuka and Chhamuka together cutting timbers from reserve forests according to the resolutions passed in the mahasabha. Three cases were instituted under Sec. 379 I. P.C. in the Cuttack district against 63 persons of whom 30 belonged to Panchmuka and 33 to Chhamuka. One case was instituted in the Balasore district under Sec. 411 I.P.C. against

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11 persons of Panchmuka. In both districts all these persons were convicted. All these offences were committed under instructions of the mahasabha and the ring-leaders of the melias as will be found from the following extracts from the judgement in case No. 60 of 1922 (Kendrapara court) against Ratnakar Mallik and 40 others.

"The accused were questioned as to why they did this and their reply was that the mahasabha of the melias had issued orders that all forests were now open."

In another case in the same court against Kali Naik and 7 others on the following appears :-

"The Panchmuka tenants say Krishna Parida of Mriganayani, Anterjyami Palai of Jaleswarpur and Biswasrai of Jasipur ordered them."

Of the total number of persons 74, a majority i.e. 41 came from Panchmuka. This no doubt shows the state of affairs in Panchmuka and the serious attempts made by the people there to commit breach of the peace. A list of persons of Panchmuka convicted in the forest cases is annexed.

When some of the accused persons were arrested for cutting timbers from the reserve forests, Bhagaban Dikshit, a non-co-operator of Panchmuka delivered a fiery speech in the meeting held on 30-3-22 at Ghanteswar Hat exhorting the people to go in large numbers to reserve forests for the purpose of cutting timbers and thus incited them to mass civil disobedience and wide-spread lawlessness. This fact was soon after brought to the notice of the

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S.I. of Chandbali by my head Amin, Charan Mohanty soon after.

As a result of the resolutions passed at the mahasabha the collections of the March instalments of rents also suffered seriously. Out of the rent demand of Rs. 63,160/- the collections on the kist days amounted to Rs. 11,972/- only.

The collection of the Taccavi loan amounting to Rs. 33,124/- which was due in April, 1922 had to be postponed altogether as the situation appeared to be very serious. This also shows the effect of the combination and our precaution not to aggravate the situation.

Under orders of the mahasabha held on the 20th and 27th March, 1922, large amounts of subscriptions were realised from the people with the pretence of fighting out the forest cases. I enclose herewith the specimen translations of 2 receipts, granted by one Indramoni Das who had since been bound down under Sec. 107 Cr. P.C. in Bhadrak court. These as well as the following list of applications will prove beyond doubt that subscriptions were being realised and everything was being done under orders of the mahasabha. These subscriptions were realised with the knowledge of the Bhadrak police who justified that the money was raised for defending the accused in the timber theft case in Bhadrak court. But in fact not a single pie was legally spent in defending the accused as all the cases went undefended. But the finding of the court is that these were wrongful acts as mentioned in 20th March of the judgement.

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LIST OF APPLICANTS

Names	Residence	Amount paid
1. Dusasan Roul and 31 others	Bhagnata	Rs. 25/-
2. Maguni Samal and 12 others	Balikuri	Rs. 11/-
3. Dinabandhu Das and 4 others	Madhupur	Rs. 11/-
4. Krutibash Rout and 11 others	Nuanga (Chardia)	Rs. 8/-
5. Chemai Jena and 45 others	Charadia	Rs. 12/-
6. Purna Ch. Rout and 24 others	Neduali	Rs. 10/-
7. Aparti Parida and 35 others	Kandagardi	Rs. 20/-
8. Suryamoni Rout and 10 others	Kouriapal	Rs. 18/-

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	Names	Residence	Amount paid
9.	Purnananda Behera and 11 others	Barharipur	Rs. 9/1/9
10.	Baidyanath Biswal and 6 others	Bisrampur	Rs. 7/-
11.	Rama Ch. Mohanty and 9 others	Paikerapur	Rs. 5/-
12.	Nesai Malik and 19 others	Tentuliaria	Rs. -/10/-
13.	Karuni Rout and 13 others	Bansara	Rs. 5/-
14.	Rasananda Patra and 27 others	Chherak	Rs. 2/-
15.	Fakir Nanda and 19 others	Amligan	Rs. 19/-
16.	Dinabandhu Naik and 14 others	Pokherisahi	Rs. 7/-/6
17.	Darsan Naik and 18 others	Orasahi	Rs. 9/-

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Names	Residence	Amount paid
18. Banamali Behera and 13 others	Icchapur	Rs. 5/-
19. Anirudha Mahapatra and 10 others	Sanaharipur	Rs. 4/9/-
20. Kamdeb Champati and 30 others	Bentalpur	Rs. 40/7/3-
21. Kelu Ch. Naik and 42 others	Bijoyanagar	Rs. 20/-
22. Raghu Naik and 23 others	Begunia	Rs. 10/-
23. Chintamoni Lenka and 14 others	Jagula	Rs. 15/-
24. Bhramar Lenka and 20 others	Paikasahi	Rs. 8/-
25. Sridhar Behera and 24 others	Dhamara	Rs. 13/-

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Names	Residence	Amount paid
26. Rama Ch. Sahu and 27 others	Guanlo	Rs. 17/2/6
27. Rajballabh Mohanty and 8 others	Josipur	Rs. 0/11/-
28. Chandamoni Behera and 8 others	Kasturikan	Rs. 14/-
29. Atanga Naik and 22 others	Singti	Rs. 18/-

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The melias also started boy-cotting, intimidating and forcibly entering the houses of those people who did not join the meli and realised fines from them as per list below.

Names	Residence	Amount of fines	Remarks
1. Akuli Majhi	Narsingpur	Rs. 50/-	Rs. 1/8/- Subscription for wood theft case
2. Kenai Champti	Do	Rs. 100/-	Rs. 2/8 Do. Do.
3. Dibakar Rout	Badrupa	Rs. 5/-	Rs. 12/-/- Do. Do.
4. Payodhar Sahu	Gouradeipur	Rs. 5/-	Rs. 1/8/- Do. Do.

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They also realised fines from people who gave shelter to the Raj peons as shown below.

1. Mani Charan Dakhinrai Kandha Rs. 1/-/-
2. Sullabh Nath Bijoyanagar Rs. 5/-/-

In March and April fish was forcibly caught from several Rajsarkar tanks. The following is a list of same.

1. Maousudha
2. Gobindpur (Jagula muka)
3. Matto
4. Dhamra
5. Gobindpur (Kandagarari)
6. Guanla
7. Nalagohira

In 5 cases (Matto, Dhamra, Guanla, Maousudha and Gobindpur) the tahasildar of Matto lodged information with the Chandbali police but no notice was taken. In one of these cases the tahasildar made a final complaint to the Sub-divisional Magistrate at Matto. The case was proved against 3 persons who were convicted and fined. The Panchmuka people had got so defiant by the indifference of the police towards the situation that even after the firing at Joral on 23-4-22 they had the boldness to forcibly catch fish from Nachhibindha tank in Ghanteswar. In this case the S.I. sent up a final report saying that it was a mistake of fact but on enquiry the S.D.M. ordered a charge sheet to be sent up against 10 persons. All these persons were convicted, one of them was sentenced to R.I. for one month. A list of

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persons convicted in the above two cases is enclosed herewith.

On the 13th of April a large number of persons chased my forest and fishery inspector Kulamoni Mahanty as he got the offenders detected while cutting timber from reserve forests. He was staying in the house of one Akuli Majhi of Narsingpur. While he was there the house was surrounded by a party of over 200 men. This was duly reported to the Chandbali police but instead of going there personally the S.I. sent a constable. I remained satisfied with the report he received from the constable. This fact can be proved by the applications of the following persons.

1. Bhagban Das and 31 others of Gondunipokhari.
2. Badamuli Samal and 8 others of Gobindpur (Muka Jagula).
3. Chintamoni Lenka and 14 others of Jagula.
4. Shreedhar Behera and 24 others of Dhamra.
5. Baidhar Malik and 15 others of Farshibandh.
6. Madhu Parida and 24 others of Mriganayani.
7. Atanga Naik and 22 others of Singti.
8. Paban Senapati and 221 others Goalas.
9. Bandha Joysingh and 76 others Dhobas (washermen).
10. Ram Chandra Sahu and 27 others of Gnanta.
11. Dhani Mohanty of Nalgohira.
12. Budhi Majhi of Dhamra.
13. Akuli Majhi of Narsingpur.
14. Kinari Champati of Narsingpur.

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The situation of Panchmuka was in no way different from that of Chhamuka. The nature of the people of Panchmuka, their interests, their grievances and their hopes are on all fours with those of the people of Chhamuka. The persons who created the trouble i.e. the non-co-operators are the same. Their audacious preachings and writings to incite the people against me publicly were the same in Panchmuka as in Chhamuka. The object of the agitation and its intensity were in no way different and the whole of the agitation was directed solely against me.

The people were as defiant, as riotous in Panchmuka as in Chhamuka. The combination in Panchmuka was as large as that in Chhamuka. The people of no less than 70 villages out of 92 in elaka matto alone joined the combination (vide : Santh Behera's letter dated 10-3-22 exhibited in Bhadrak court and referred to in para 9 of the judgement in 107 case). The organisations i.e. mahasabha, circle sabhas and village sabhas in Panchmuka were exactly similar to those in Chhamuka. The conspiracies among the melias of Panchmuka were as dangerous as those among the melias of Chhamuka.

The overt acts committed by the melias of Panchmuka are in no way less serious than those committed by the melias of Chhamuka. My men and those who are loyal to me were equally intimidated, boycotted and assaulted in Panchmuka as in Chhamuka. The melias moved about in large numbers with the object of coering those who did not join them just as the melias did in Chhamuka. The people of Panchmuka

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forcibly caught fish from Rajsarkar tanks, raided reserve forests in large numbers just as the people of Chhamuka did. That the people of both Panchmuka and Chhamuka joined hands and made it a common cause is obvious from the above facts as well as the following extracts from the letters written by non-co-operators, Bhagaban Dikshit, Radha Malick and Radhashyam Naik and referred to in para 9 of the judgement in the 107 proceedings of Panchmuka.

'Exhibit-37 dated 5-2-22 addressed to Krutibas Raut at Rajkanika by Bhagaban Dikshit, one of the accused in this case contains the following : "Tell Joyram Pandit that they should remain united, if unity breaks down the gain is theirs, if it remains the gain is ours.'

On 10-2-22 the same accused wrote (Ec. 35) from Ghateswar to the same addressee, "If tenants maintain unity, that will be enough for them. I see that the courage of the people here, has much increased from before."

While Exhibit-34 bearing the same date and written by one Radhashyam Naik (it is not ascertainable to whom it was addressed on the top of the letter there are some entries under the name of Banchhanidhi Mohanty, a congress worker) contains the following :- "The tenants of Chhamuka and Panchmuka in the Balasore district combined against the Raja for his high-handedness (Attyachar) and have been punished in various ways." Then follows the following significant passage :-

"From the beginning of the Golamal, Madhu and I were present. Madhu (Madhusudan

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Patnaik) has been taken away (arrested). Don't know what awaits the fate of the tenants of both the mulluk."

The same set of grievances was put forth by the people of both Panchmuka and Chhamuka.- The same scurrilous publication i.e. "Dukhini Kanika," was read in public meetings in both parts of Kanika. To say that the meli in Panchmuka was different is to shut one's eyes to the actual facts.

The S.I. of Chandbali disposed of all this by calling it as an agrarian dispute and sat quiet in the P.S. without even inquiring as to what was happening all around him. The only meeting he attended was that held at Singti on 20-2-22 as stated above, at the personal request of my superintendent. The only cognisance he took of the overt acts was the arrest of 11 persons implicated in the wood theft case and that he did under the personal instructions of the S.D.O. who happened to be at Chandbali on the day the information was lodged. He probably thought that his duty as a police officer in charge of a Thana was done by sending a report that no breach of peace was apprehended. Apart from taking any initiative measure to deal with this wide-spread lawlessness, he even did not dare to go personally to investigate the case of my forest and fishery inspector which was duly reported. He took no action when in the meeting held at Ghanteswar hat on 30-3-22 Bhagaban Dikshit incited the people to further lawlessness which was also brought to his notice as stated in para above. He also took no notice when information of some fish theft cases was given to him by my

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tahasildar of Matto. A comparison of his report about no apprehension of breach of peace with the following extract from his own statement made in the Bhadrak court will clearly show a gross neglect of duty :-

"I know all the 18 accused persons. Baishnab Charan Mohanty is a non-co-operator. Bhagaban Dikshit, Banamali Naik, Santha Behera and Gayadhar Samal are also non-co-operators. Chakradhar Behera is a dismissed employee of the Kanika estate. There was an ashram at Chandbali. The non-co-operator accused used to visit it now and then. Gayadhar Samal has an ashram in his village. The non-co-operators stay there at times. It is in village Narendrapur. There was an ashram at Matto in charge of Santha Behera. The non-co-operators were in touch with the Bhadrak ashram and were also co-operating with the non-co-operators of the Cuttack district. Since I have been here good feeling existed between the landlord and tenants. It became strained since January last. The tenants began to hold sabhas and samitis headed by these accused persons. In fact all the meetings were organised by them. Their object was to hold meetings to protest against Raja's proposal to have a private settlement but they also dealt with several matters in the sabhas which are likely to create hatred in the minds of the tenants towards the Raja. The meetings continued from January upto April. In the Matto circle about 20 meetings were held. Mahasabhas and circle sabhas and in the Ghanteswar circle 5 or 6 such meetings were held. On 20-2-22, I attended one of the meetings at Singti. About 1,000 men were

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present. Krishna Parida presided. Anterjyami Palai, Brajananda Mahapatra and Indramoni Das protested against my dispersal, of the meeting. I dispersed the meeting because there was a hot discussion between the Raja's men and the accused persons. XXX I dispersed the meeting because there was likelihood of breach of peace. I returned to Thana. I heard some of them again held the meeting. On 22nd February there was another sabha at Singti. I deputed head constable Padmalochan Mohanty to watch the proceedings with a constable. I sent him to keep peace. The head constable reported that no breach of peace took place. The effect of their holding (meetings) was that the ignorant masses became emboldened, stole fish from the Rajsarkar tanks, stole wood from the reserve forests and took fruits from orchards and insulted the Raj employees and would not allow them to stay in the moffosil. They tried to stop payments of the Raj dues. XXX One case of theft of cocoanuts and plantain, (one of) wood from the Kalibhanja Dian (Cuttack district) and (one case of theft) of fish from Nacchibindha tank were reported at the Thana. All the accused in the wood theft case were Panchmuka tenants. XXX About 60 or 70 persons were sent up from Rajnagar police station out of whom 34 or 35 belong to Panchmuka. The two occurrences took place almost simultaneously in the month of March."

Examination

"Meetings were held at Jalleswarpur, Josipur, Matto, Singti, Amligan, Kisnat, Orasahi, Sarana and Gobindpur in circle Matto and Totapara,

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Kesharpur and Ghanteswar hat and Baliapal in circle Ghanteswar. No entry is made in the station diary. At the time when the meetings were being held I did not think they were wrongful acts. From the latter part of March when I came to know the subject matters of the meetings I thought they were wrongful. I did not enter these meetings in the station diary after March. I did not take any steps to check holdings of the meetings till a notice was issued under Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. by the S.D.O. XXX The S.P. and S.D.O. came to Chandbali after the Chhamuka affairs. I informed him (them) about the meetings. Overt acts No. 1, 2 and 13 mentioned in the proceedings found entry in the station diary. The wrongful acts mentioned in the proceedings do not find entry in the station diary. Except the meeting held at Singti on 22-2-22 I made an entry in the station diary of my going to Singti on 20-2-22. I was present at Singti in the afternoon. I returned to P.S. at 1 p.m. I heard Krishna Parida's speech for 10 minutes. He said that he would not allow the Raja to carry on a private settlement. He expected the people to combine unless the object will not be gained. XXX These were meetings of the tenants but I did not anticipate or apprehend any danger but as soon as the Chhamuka incident occurred I was no my alert and reported to the authorities that measures should be taken to put a stop in the meetings."

The Chandbali police was so much in sympathy with the non-co-operators and the ring-leaders of the meli that the latter as far as my information goes made the Thana a place

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of shelter, where they used to gather and even sing songs.

I am sorry to mention here that the then Divisional Inspector of Bhadrak, Babu Atul Ch. Guha, after his visit to Panchmuka in April last, assumed a most prejudiced attitude against the Raj for reasons best known to him. It seems he tried to ignore the real situation and represent matters altogether imaginary. His favourable attitude towards the melia tenants and the non-co-operators became so manifest that the people freely talked about that the police was entirely in their favour and would help them in every way. This was a great encouragement to them. From the little conversation I had with Atul Babu I was convinced that he was in full sympathy with the movement of the non-co-operators. His report is nothing but a mere gramophone reproduction of the sentiments and views of the melias who freely gave out that he was an advocate of their cause. In course of conversation he suggested to compromise the wood theft case, then pending at Bhadrak court, saying that no evidence was forthcoming. This was said probably with a view to obliterate the overt acts committed by the melias in that part. The case subsequently ended in conviction. The reply of the Hon'ble Mr. Mc Pherson on behalf of government in the council debate on 25th August, 1922 dealing with almost all the points raised by Atul Babu is very effective. I enclose herewith a copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the council held on 25th August, 1922 for ready reference. It is a great surprise to me that Atul Babu considered that there was no influence of the non-co-operators in Panchmuka.

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I would like to draw your attention to paragraph above as well as to the extract from the depositions of the sub-inspector of Chandbali mentioned in para 3 of the judgement in the 107 case. I would also quote the following extracts from the said judgement.

"Para 8. XXX The evidence adduced to establish connection of the non-co-operation movement with the alleged meli is both oral and documentary. The oral evidence consists of the statements of the above persons. The evidence of the S.I. (P.W.2) is that there were three ashrams in Panchmuka. These ashrams were managed by the non-co-operators who are accused in this case and that they were in touch with the outside non-co-operators. The sub-inspector says that these persons organised meetings all over Panchmuka in which political matters were discussed, the tenants of Kanika were instigated to defy the Raja, without payment of all legal demands, cut wood from the forests and catch fish from tanks belonging to the Raja. Except in one meeting held on 20-2-22, the S.I. was not himself present and his statements are not borne out by entries in the station diary."

"Para 9. XXX Exhibit-33A, dated 5-1-22 (issued under the signature of Harekrushna Mahtab and which shows that the non-co-operators had forcussed their attention on Kanika) XXX." Exhibit-32 was written by the same accused on 10-3-22 from the Matto ashram but it does not appear to whom it was addressed (probably to the president of the congress). It contains the followings passages-

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" Meetings are being held fortnightly at Matto part in Panchmuka Kanika in the district of Balasore. In these meetings tenants from 70 villages out of 92 are attending. I hope in this our congress work will go on smoothly."

"Para 10. XXX The disclosures contained in extracts throw considerable light on the situation and leave no room to doubt that there was explicit connection between the non-co-operation movement and the local trouble."

The following extract from the judgement of the S.D.O. of Kendrapara will also show the intimate connection of the non-co-operators with the meli in Kanika. Then there is a Post Card 21-4-22 (Ex. 4) from one Ramesh Chandra Jena to Harish Chandra Ray. It contains the following :- "Kindly make time to me at 9 o'clock after school hours or is it you would not like to see me on account of meli or because Madhu and other non-co-operators are at the root of the meli."

Madhusudan Patnaik under whose charge Panchmuka was placed as mentioned in para, clearly admits in his written statement in the 107 case, before the S.D.O. of Kendrapara, a copy of which is enclosed herewith that the non-payment of rent and the breach of the peace brought about in Kanika are due to the non-co-operation movement here, for which he is responsible. I also enclose an extract from the judgement in the case under Sec. 17, Criminal Law Amendment Act against Ekram Rasool, President, Utkal Provincial Congress Committee and Orissa Provincial Khilafat Committee which will show the real serious

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state of things caused in Kanika by the non-co-operators.

Atul Babu has reported that no breach of peace was possible unless committed by my men. This is a most daring statement based merely on fiction. I cannot let this statement go unchallenged. My men had strict injuctions not to give the slightest cause for provocation and from every inquiry made both officially and privately it has been clearly proved that my men followed my instructions to the very letter inspite of the greatest provocation caused to them by the violent and lawless melias. Inspite of his hostile attitude towards the Raj, Atul Babu has not been able to bring out in any of his reports a single specific case of zulum by my men in support of his statement. Neither the non-co-operators who had been working so long in Panchmuka nor the melia tenants who formed such a strong combination against me and my men have been able to prove a single specific case of zulum or even an attempt by my men to commit breach of peace. Personally I asked every government official including yourself to enquire if any zulum was committed by my men and I believe every one was satisfied with the conduct of my men as there was an entire absence of zulum by them.

In the lengthy proceedings of the 107 case in the Bhadrak court which was hotly contested by the accused who were represented by three pleaders and one veteran Muktar, not even an attempt was made by them to prove any case of zulum. Yet Atul Babu tried to shift the blame to my men. On the otherhand the trying

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magistrate observed in Para 20 of the judgement: "The Raja and his officers stood aloof and displayed commendable forbearance." Surely it was the melias, whose cause Atul Babu took up so ardently, that did all that was possible to oppress my men and commit breach of peace.

The nature of over acts committed will clearly be seen from the following extract from Mr. Gupta's judgement in the appeal preferred against the order of the S.D.O. Bhadrak :-

"Para 5. XXX Briefly put, his findings is that the dispute between the tenants (including the accused) and the zamindar was at the inception over some agrarian grievances of the former, that this dispute first came into prominence when the zamindar after a temporary suspension resumed survey operations by his own agents in Panchmuka with a view to enhance rents and then certain non-co-operators including accused Nos. 5 to 9, who have not joined in the present application, took advantage of the situation in order to create disturbance and with the help of the remaining accused organised a widespread melee by holding meetings at different places in which not only the grievances of the tenants were discussed but the general withholding of rents and the assertion of supposed rights (that is cutting of trees in reserved forests, catching fish in reserved tanks, etc.) was advocated, uncalled for abuses were hurled on the zamindar and officers, and the tenants were generally incited to obstruct the management of the estate in all possible ways. As there was a considerable section of the tenancy who still sided with the

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zamindar, the organisers of the meli, including the accused, naturally came into conflict with these loyal tenants as also with the Raj Amlas and a general situation was thus created which was likely to lead at any moment to a serious disturbance of the public tranquility like what had recently occurred from the same causes in Chhamuka, that is the Cuttack portion of the Kanika estate."

"Para 6. XXX The avowed objects of several of the meetings in which the applicants took active part were to excite general disaffection amongst the tenants against the zamindar, to compel by unlawful means the loyal section of the tenantry to join the meli and to pay subscriptions towards the fund that was being raised for carrying on the agitation ; and generally to make the administration of the estate by the zamindar difficult. The tenants were exhorted to withhold payments of rent but there was no suggestion that the rent should be deposited in court. As a result of these meetings unlawful acts i.e. intimidation, insult and show of force were actually resorted to compel the loyal section of the tenentry to join the meli and to pay subscription to the meli fund. At some of the meetings, i.e. the one at Kesharpur held at the end of Magh and the one at Singti held on 6-3-22, some officers of the zamindar who happened to be present were actually abused by being called "Dogs" and "Chokar" and at another Singti meeting held on 20-2-22 a breach of the peace became so imminent between the refractory tenants including several of the accused in the present case, on

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the one side and the loyal tenants of the zamindar and his officers on the other that the police had to disperse it by force. The overt acts in which the accused are proved to have taken part directly or indirectly have been set forth in para 22 of the judgement. The court has held these acts to have been satisfactorily proved while rejecting the evidence regarding others as not conclusive ; and I think this finding of the court is fully supported by the evidence."

"Para 7. XXX On the whole there is ample evidence for the prosecution which is not only unrebutted but is in many respects supported by the evidence for the defence, to show that a very disquieting situation similar to what has already led to numerous serious acts of violence in the neighbouring Cuttack portion of the Kanika estate was being brought about in Panchmuka by the mischievous activities of the present applicants and others when this proceeding was started, and the order passed by the Sub-divisional Magistrate binding down the applicants to keep the peace was fully justified by the situation."

Atul Babu has also mentioned that there is "Bethi" in Kanika. But it is a thing quite unknown here. "Bethi" means forced labour without payment. The works generally done here are on roads, tanks and embankments on payment of proper wages. These works are meant for the benefit of the people and proper wages are always paid for any work done by them. The following figures will show the amounts spent by the Raj during the past 5 years on original and repair works

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Year	Roads	Tanks	Embankments	Total
1917-18	Rs. 5382/-	Rs. Nil	Rs. 13479/-	Rs. 18861/-
1918-19	Rs. 6500/-	Rs. 704/-	Rs. 7019/-	Rs. 14223/-
1919-20	Rs. 4750/-	Rs. 94/-	Rs. 15228/-	Rs. 20072/-
1920-21	Rs. 8230/-	Rs. 226/-	Rs. 22039/-	Rs. 30495/-
1921-22	Rs. 2801/-	Rs. 101/-	Rs. 11452/-	Rs. 14354/-

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The above figures will show what sort of Bethi is rendered by the people to the Raj and how far the statements of the inspector are correct. He alone can say on what materials he based his report.

Labour on payment is perhaps the kind of Bethi referred to in the inspector's report. This no doubt is the result of the influence of the non-co-operation movement which the inspector seems to advocate. The non-co-operators induced the people not to work even on payment as will be seen from the following extract from an exhibit in the 107 case of Chhamuka. It is from the letter of a principal non-co-operator residing in Panchmuka who is now in jail in consequence of the 107 case of Panchmuka.

"Then in Ex.-5 we have as I observe the people have been gaining courage gradually. People are unwilling to render any service to the Raja even if they are paid." A reference to this was also made by the Sub-divisional Magistrate of Bhadrak in his judgement (para 9) in the 107 case of Panchmuka.

If Atul Babu means to rag that the people were not under service even as payment, certainly I have nothing to rag.

Private Settlement

A good deal has been said to justify the meli in Panchmuka as an agrarian dispute by attributing it to private settlement but the facts clearly show that the meli was due only to a move of the non-co-operators. Under Sec. 34 of the Orissa Tenancy Act (extract annexed) I was perfectly justified in making an amicable

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settlement of rents in my estate even after 15 years although a lapse of 28 years was a distinct advantage to the tenants and not to me. For the convenience of the tenants the work was done slowly and gradually although this procedure involved great loss to me. The entire cost of the settlement operations was borne by me. The settlement work of the Cuttack portion was made six years ago and the new rents were paid without any objection. I cannot make out how inspector, Atul Ch. Guha found out that the tenants paid the new rents for six years "with objection" and that I promised to reconsider the matter. There was never any such understanding and the statement that the tenants paid the new rents "with objection" is wholly unfounded.

After the work was finished in the portion in the Cuttack district, arrangements were made for carrying on the work in the Balasore portion. But on account of failure of crops in two successive years the work of settlement of rents was postponed by me. No objection was raised by the people in course of the preliminary operations and none could have been raised against the settlement of rents, had not the outside non-co-operators used their influence with the people. I would like to refer you to para regarding a telegram from Harekrushna Mahtab which will show how the question of settlement was given a prominence to and made a pretence to carry on the agitation by the non-co-operators.

The following extract from the speech of the Hon'ble Mc Pherson on behalf of the government at the council debate on 25th of August last will

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justify the action taken by me in making a private settlement of rents with my tenants:-

"I will now refer to the agrarian history of the tract because there has been a suggestion, more than a suggestion, that the trouble in Kanika is agrarian and not political. There were frequent settlements of the estate during the periods of Court-of-Wards management in which partly as the result of the rise in prices and partly as a result of the reclamation of jungle, the rental of the estate gradually rose from about Rs. 50,000 in 1834 to 1,36,000 in 1894, not a very phenomenal increase for a period of 66 years in a tract that was only half reclaimed."

"The next point to which I want to draw attention is the mildness of the rents in the estate. The average rental of the last settlement was Re. 1/1/- an acre and except in one or two very exceptional villages the highest rate for rice land was Rs. 2/8/- an acre. There has since been an enhancement of two annas in the rupee, but that still leaves the rental incidence very low."

"Now as regards the enhancement of rent, there was no legal grievance as the enhancement is protected by the first provise to Section 34 of the Orissa Tenancy Act as it had been collected for more than three years nor can there be any grievance whatever on the ground of hardship as the average of rents cannot have been increased by the enhancement beyond Rupees 1/4/- per acre and this is much below the general average obtaining in the Moghalbondi of Orissa."

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I was surprised to learn that a very strange notification was published in May or June last, by beat of drum, at the local hats, for the information of my tenants under the orders of the S.P. of Balasore. The notification was to the effect that I had given an undertaking to government not to enhance rents in Panchmuka. I am not aware on what authority the Balasore police gave wide publicity to such a mischiveous thing and what justification they had to interfere with my legal rights and make an attempt to humilate me before my tenants. This clearly shows the hostile attitude of the Balasore police towards me. I strongly protest against such undue interference, and I would request you to ask the S.P. of Balasore to not only withdraw the notification but to give due publicity to the withdrawal of same. Sometime ago I asked the S.P. of Balasore to furnish me with a copy of the notification but he expressed his inability to do so on the hand that it was a departmental order. I fail to see the justification in focusing about 8 pg. of a matter to which wide publicity was given and in which no doubt I am interested as well as my tenants.

Objection has been taken to payment of Bankar and pasture rents among the grievances. These were inquired into and the opinion of government is stated below by Mr. Mc Pherson:-

"The right to levy a forest cess was taken into the courts in 1912 and was decided in favour of the Raja. That decision has not since been questioned. The pasturage dues on buffaloes have been levied for atleast 30 years, the rate in 1894 being annas four per head, the levy was a perfectly reasonable one. It did not extend to village cattle used for purposes of agriculture,

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all of which enjoy free grazing. In view of these facts the collector of Cuttack came to the conclusion that the grievances of which the tenants complained were large fictitious. The commissioner of Orissa who also made a local inquiry both in Kanika and in Chandbali on the 8th and 9th of March came to the same conclusion and gave the tenants similar advice."

Atul Babu has reported that there are many illegal taxes but I have not been able to make out, what he means. He has not mentioned a single item which he considers illegal nor I have found any from others who have been so loud in accusing me in most abstract terms such as heavy and illegal taxations, oppressions, etc. A comparison of the statement of Atul Babu with the preachings and writings of the principal non-co-operators Ram Das, Jadumani Mangaraj, Harekrushna Mahtab and others as mentioned in para 1, will appear to be very interesting.

Atul Babu appears to have been completely enamoured of the scurrilous pamphlet "Dukhini Kanika" which he considers as a great proof in support of his statements and appears to have believed in its contents blindly. The writer of this pamphlet is an altogether insignificant person. His landed interests amount to 0. 75 acre of land for which he pays an annual rent of Rs. 2/-. He was a teacher of a L.P. School but he was removed from service by the education department as he was not considered a fit person for the line. After removal from service he joined the meli and gradually became one of the ring-leaders. He attended several meetings in Panchmuka and incited the people against the Raj by reading his defamatory pamphlet to

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them. He was first served with a notice under Sec. 144 under the order of the S.D.O. of Kendrapara. Subsequently he was prosecuted under Sec. 107 Cr. P.C. along with other ring-leaders and is now in jail for having failed to furnish required security for good behaviour.

As regards the author and the merit of the book I do not wish to say anything as it is a scurrilous writing which I have always treated with contempt. I would however quote below some authoritative remarks upon it from public documents and leave it to you to judge the fictitious nature of the grievances mentioned in the defamatory pamphlet to which Atul Babu has given so much importance. The author has been described as. "the arch non-co-operator of Chhamuka" in the judgement in the 107 case of Panchmuka. In the judgement in the 107 case of Chhamuka the following remarks were made by the trying magistrate :-

"I had to frame a separate set of question for Ananda Chandra Jena. He is accused of joining the other accused in trying to achieve the main objects of leaders of the meli. Further he is accused of advising the driving out of Raj amlas and employees, going to Ghariamal and other villages with a large body of men and there compelling tenants to give thumb impressions and subscriptions, assaulting Khetramohan Mangaraj, oppressing some 7 men, Raj employees and others. He denies everything but there is only this denial in his behalf. The prosecution have adduced people who were so oppressed and others who were eye witnesses and against these there is nothing put forward by Ananda Chandra Jena. I must hold him also as one against whom action under Sec. 107 Cr. P.C.

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should be taken as I have held against the others."

Then in the judgement of the Sub-divisional Magistrate of Bhadrak the following is mentioned about him :-

"In another meeting a pamphlet known as "Dukhini Kanika" was read. The author of this booklet is Ananda Chandra Jena and he along with others of Chhamuka attended the meeting in which the principal part was the reading out of the contents of the book to the audience. The police evidence is that the pamphlet contains defamatory allegations and the object and the intention of the publication of the same in the Panchmuka meetings was to create disaffection and hatred in the minds of the tenants of the place towards the Raja. In view of what I have stated above i.e. that this mode of attempting to secure removal of grievances however legitimate they may be was wholly opposed to the sense of the major portion of the tenantry, the act was calculated to give rise to one consequence namely breach of peace. It is not open to one to have recourse to wrongful means, which might lead to breach of peace, under the plea of having his grievances redressed or his wrongs righted. As the intention of those who convened the meetings in which "Dukhini Kanika" was read was to excite the majority of the tenants of Panchmuka, to break the law or cause a breach of peace or wound the feelings of the Raja and his other tenants, the causing of it to be read amounted to a wrongful act."

The pamphlet was translated into english by government. In course of the council debate

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on the 25th of August last the Hon. Mc Pherson on behalf of government made the following remarks in regard to it :-

"XXX I must remark before going further that this is the most extraordinary case which I have ever been called upon to meet in the council. As presented by the Hon'ble mover it seems to rest entirely upon two booklets annonymous productions, I think, but productions of which the Hon'ble mover seems to be so proud that one might almost suspect that he is the father of both bantlings."

"Well, Sir, I had an opportunity of reading the translation of the first booklet "Dukhini Kanika" and a more amazing collection of balderdash it has seldom been my fortune to read. XXX But if anything further were needed to show the fictitious nature of the grievances a perusal of a pamphlet called "Dukhini Kanika" would in my opinion be sufficient. This is a partizan pamphlet which tries to paint as black a picture as possible of Kanika administration but an analysis of it shows that the complaints are mostly ridiculous."

In this connection I beg to quote the following from a letter from the Hon. Sir Havilland Le. Mesurier, late Offg. Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

"I hope you will always be happy and prosperous and I particularly desire to offer you my sympathy in all the worry you have been subjected to over the affairs regarding your tenantry in which your conduct has been so uniformly correct and even generous to those who so ill-repaid you."

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I cannot make out why the inspector has put so much stress upon a pamphlet which has been so severely condemned by high officials of government. It is admittedly defamatory but no action was taken as the author is a man of straw and is already in jail in connection with the 107 case of Chhamuka.

A point has been raised by Atul Babu that a certain amount of Raj dues was realised up to February and thus a case made out to show that the people of Panchmuka did not withhold payment of legal demands. I have already dealt with this and it has since been admitted both officially and judicially that the tenants did withhold legal demands. If proofs are necessary I would quote the letter of Bhagaban Dikshit Ex.-37 dated 5-2-22 to Kritibash Rout referred to in para 9 of the judgement :- Referring to Panchmuka he says, "If matters are not settled by the kist they would stop the 16 annas kist."

The S.I. of Chandbali also admitted this in his deposition. In one of his previous reports about the middle of March, Atul Babu reported that the tenants had resolved in a large meeting that they would not pay rent and other dues until their grievances were redressed. Among the overt acts mentioned in the judgement of Bhadrak court in the 107 case in Panchmuka the following are held to have been proved to the satisfaction of the court :-

"Instigating the tenants of Panchmuka not to pay rents and picketting those who came to Raj cutchery to pay. The result was temporary with holding of rent. This in evident from Exhibit-37 and from the evidence of P.W. 68 read with evidence of tahasildars of Ghanteswar and Matto."

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The S.I. who attended the Singti meeting deposed that the tenants were instigated not to pay kist rent. P.W. 31 said, "The tenants obstructed me in collection work." "VIII. Insulting behaviour towards the Raj tahasildar and peons entrusted with the work of collection of rent, the object being to thwart their attempts to expedite collections."

This is also the finding of the appellate court, the District Magistrate, Balasore and Mr. Hodson has also admitted this fact in his report. It is ridiculous to find Atul Babu saying that if I wanted peace I must make up matters with the tenants and remove their grievances. In other words I should abide by the dictates of the refractory tenants and it did not matter what it cost me, and the police whose first duty is to keep law and order, will give me no protection from illegal and forcible encroachment upon my rights. The sympathetic attitude of Atul Babu towards the melia tenants can also be gauged from the following facts :-

On the 29th of April 1922 my manager wrote to the S.D.O. of Bhadrak about the situation then prevailing in Panchmuka and mentioned therein serious zulum committed by the melias over certain persons. The report was referred to Atul Babu for enquiry. But it is very strange that he held the enquiry behind us, and gave no intimation whatever to my men, as to when and where he wanted to hold the enquiry. He was in close touch with the ring-leaders of the melias who had actually committed the zulum and went about with them. It is stated that when he visited Narsingpur, Brindaban Mallik and Paramananda Mallik (brothers of ring-leader Brajananda Mahapatra), Balabhadra Parida

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(brother of ring-leader Krishna Parida) and one Sudhakar Mohanty of Nallopina also went there. While Atul Babu was in one part of the village the above persons were intimidating the villagers in another part. Sometime after it was freely discussed at Chandbali that the inspector's report was in favour of the aggressive tenants.

I believe under your instructions a special officer was sometime after deputed to look into and report on the then situation in Panchmuka. He brought to light the activities of the non-co-operators, co-operation between Panchmuka and Chhamuka tenants, the seriousness of the situation and the combination, the illegal activities of the melias, several unlawful meetings held to further their objects and serious overt acts committed by them. A comparison of his report with that of Atul Babu will clearly show how far Atul Babu ignored the situation. Though I believe 107 proceedings were started on the facts found by Babu Sachindra Kumar Sengupta, he was not entrusted to draw up the proceedings himself. It is curious that Atul Babu who had all along denied everything was entrusted to supervise the drawing of the proceedings. It is for you to find out why this was done. The result was that the influence of the non-co-operators with the meli was kept in obscurity as far as possible and serious overt acts were eliminated from the proceedings. Even in the conduct of cases no evidence was added regarding the activities of the non-co-operators. It was only at a very late stage and on the insistence of the pleader on my behalf that evidence regarding non-co-operator's activities was at all introduced. The documentry evidence against the non-co-operators

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was supplied by the Cuttack police. It is a salient fact that eleven search warrants were given by the Cuttack police to Bhadrak police, but I understand that in the searches conducted under the supervision of Atul Babu not a scrap of paper could be found, where as heaps of incriminating letters and documents written by the very persons whose houses were searched were found by the Cuttack police elsewhere. The only possible explanation that can be given is that the persons whose houses were to be searched got information beforehand and removed all the incriminating documents. If so, the information could only have been given by the police who had been all along in close touch and sympathy with them and who had already reported that the situation was calm and serene. It is said that it was Kantapara and not Chandbali, Matto or Ghanteswar that was the place of the activities of the non-co-operators. But the facts disclosed are otherwise. I have already said about the activities of the non-co-operators in Panchmuka and the ashrams started there. The S.I. of Chandbali has admitted this in his inspection. The special officer also disclosed it. Several of the letters found by Cuttack police were written from these places. A perusal of the translation of the publication in the "SAMAJ" of the 8th April, 1922 enclosed herewith will clearly establish that Chandbali and Ghanteswar and not Kantapara were made the headquarters of the united Kanika under the congress regime.

The situation in Panchmuka was only cooled down by the effective measures taken in Chhamuka and that after the firing, and so the credit of quelling the disturbances was due to

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the Cuttack police but not in anyway to the Balasore police, who had absolutely neglected the situation.

The following statement shows the steps taken by the Cuttack and the Balasore police respectively before 23rd of April 1922, when there was a firing in Chhamuka.

Cuttack	Balasore
Arrest of Ramdas under Sec. 100 Cr. P. C. on 28-9-21.	The Sub-inspector's attending a meeting on 20-2-22 and dispersing the same.
Service of notice U/S 144 upon Bhagirathy Mahapatra.	
Deputation of special officer to investigate the situation in Chhamuka.	Arrest of 11 persons for wood theft case.
Service of notice U/S 144 upon Ananda Chandra Jena and Joyram Rai the ring-leaders of meli in Chhamuka on 27-2-22.	
Service of a notice U/S 144 Cr. C. P. on Jadumani Mangaraj.	
Proceedings under Sec. 108 Cr. P.C. taken against Jadumani Mangaraj.	
Attendance of police officers at the meetings.	

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Arrest of 63 persons while cutting timbers from reserved forest.	
Arrest of 8 persons for rioting in Bansaria.	
Arrest of 12 ring-leaders of meli U/S 107 Cr. P. C.	
Arrests of 22 persons for rioting at Patarpur.	
Arrest of 66 persons for rioting at Bahanigiri.	
Arrests of 33 persons for rioting at Joral.	
Arrest of 4 persons at Ayetan U/S 148 I.P.C.	
Firing at Joral on 23-4-22.	

Though Atul Babu reported about the 6th of May 1922, that is after the firing in Chhamuka, that there were no overt acts and so no steps were necessary and only recommended to serve upon Krishna Parida a notice U/S 144, it was soon after found necessary to stop holding of any meeting in Panchmuka by a notice U/S 14 and draw up proceedings U/S 107 Cr. P. C. against no less than 18 persons of whom six were declared non-co-operators. All these persons were found to have committed various overt act and being considered dangerous to public peace and tranquility, were all bound down for, one year. The judgement of the lower court was upheld in appeal. In view of the above facts

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concerning Atul Babu, it is for you to judge how far he should be relied upon in his present position of trust and responsibility.

The S.P. of Balasore refuted that the meli was against me and not against government as the sub-inspector was allowed into the meeting whereas my tahasildar was insulted. The S.I. attended only one meeting i.e. on 20th of February, 1922 and after that he did not dare attend any others. My tahasildar was insulted after this date i.e. on 6-3-22 after which the people got more violent as stated.

Another argument is put forth that the people were not violent and were not going to break the law as the S.I. arrested about 11 persons in March and there was no violence. But at that time the melias had not decided the line of action and the arrest was more or less a surprise to them.

Again the principles of the congress is not to offer resistance to police officers. About the same time not less than 63 persons were arrested in the Cuttack district for similar offence. Though there was a large crowd gathered round them and a good deal of excitement shown no serious attempt was made to rescue the prisoners even in the Cuttack portion.

Mr. Hodson probably did not know how fast things were moving at that time in Kanika. Things which were not thought of in February were commonly done in March and those which were not attempted in March were fearlessly done in April, such as rescuing prisoners from the custody of armed police at Dahanigiri on

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20-4-22 and an attack on the S.P. and the armed police at Joral on 23-4-22.

Another fact reported by Mr. Hodson is that I must be in the wrong because I gave an undertaking, to government at Ranchi not to enhance rents in Panchmuka. This is not correct as I did not give any such undertaking to government.

Paddy transactions

I am surprised to find that Mr. Hodson took the trouble of hunting up the old records of his office to find out something against me and at last got Mr. Sanyal's report regarding restrictions imposed by me on the sale of paddy in my estate during the floods of 1920. This was done to meet a most distressed situation in Panchmuka caused by the succesive failure of crops in that part and with full knowledge and concurrence of the proper authorities. Mr. Sanyal's report was probably based on what he heard in a village or two without due inquiry from the other side and hence it was one sided and the inquiry he made was at a time when the people were very much distressed on account of the highest flood that ever visited the locality. The situation and the measures taken by me were duly reported to government and my action was appreciated by them. In order to keep the stock of paddy in Kanika I offered to buy the paddy at fair price and dissuaded the people from selling their stocks to outsiders or to export them to other places from Chandbali. The rate of 26 seers per rupee is objected to by Mr. Sanyal but if you inquire you will find that the present rate at that part is 36 seers. So fair

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prices were paid and no undue advantage was taken. Mr. Deb objected to my proventing the tenants from selling their stocks to outsiders probably on the complaint of some rice merchants of Chandbali. The matter was referred to the commissioner who approved of my actions and instructed the collector Mr. Deb not to interfere. A copy of commissioner's letter on the subject to the collector is appended for favour of perusal. As the same objections were also raised in the Cuttack district, the question was inquired into by the collector Mr. Ray, commissioner Mr. Foly, collector Mr. Toplis and also by the collector Mr. Cousin and the commissioner Mr. Westen. They were all satisfied that I was in the right. In this connection I beg leave to quote the following extracts from the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Mc Pherson at the council debate of 25-8-22 :-

"His (Raja of Kanika's) relations with his people have been of the happiest kind until these recent events occurred for he has always been most helpful to them when they have been afflicted with the calamity of flood to which the estate is from its position peculiarly liable."

His Excellency Sir Havilland Le Mesurier, Offg. Governor of Bihar and Orissa on the occasion of opening the library of the Revenshaw College, Cuttack addressed as follows :-

"Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, the Principal, in his introductory speech, has already told us of your generosity in giving this library, the finest I believe which any college now possesses, the finest I am certain with which any college has started its work. He has

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told us that you paid the large sum required without hesitation in spite of the heavy private losses which have caused to you by the recent flood and distress in your estate. We will trust that the bounteous harvest which this year has yielded and which we hope for in coming years, will speedily wipe out these losses. But there is one aspect of your gift to which I am anxious to draw the attention of the students and others who are present today, that it may be stamped upon their memories and those of all subsequent users of the library. It is on official record that during the famine and scarcity you showed consideration and humanity to your tenants and it is well that those who benefit by your gift should remember that the generous donor did not confine this generosity to them but was also a human and liberal landlord and a man who stands by his plighted word."

The action taken by me in 1920 was quite in keeping with what was done on such previous occasions and was fully approved of by government, as will be seen from the public speeches quoted below :-

In course of his reply to questions in the council on the 29th of August, 1913 in connection with the relief measures adopted by me during the season of floods and scarcity of 1913, the Hon'ble Mr. Mc Pherson then Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa observed on behalf of government :-

"XXX Local relief funds have been opened and in this connection government desire to record the appreciation of the Hon'ble Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kanika who

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has contributed very largely to the fund and has taken effective steps to assist the tenantry of his estate."

Commenting upon the same subject His Excellency Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India said at the open Durbar, held at Cuttack on the 28th of November, 1913 :-

"XXX I am happy to think that on this occasion there was no loss of life in your district and I trust that the prompt advances made by government and the organisation of relief funds to which the Raja of Kanika generously contributed together with the repair of the irrigation channels have done all that is humanly possible to minimise your losses."

In conclusion I might just quote the finding of the government about the reasons of the recent disturbances in Kanika which have been put by Hon. Mr. Mc Pherson concisely in the following words :-

"Now it may be asked if the relations between Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo and the tenantry of Kanika as happy as I have described, why did this present trouble arise? The answer, I think, is firstly and chiefly because he had the courage publicly and strongly, to condemn the non-co-operation movement in Orissa, secondly because there are families in the estate who are prone to the meli habit, and thirdly because there has been a long standing quarrel between the Raja of Kanika and his eccentric brother commonly known as the Raja of Aul whose estate adjoins Kanika."

(The exhibits of the letter were not found).

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Appendix - 9

CONFIDENTIAL LETTER CONCERNING COLLECTION OF SECOND INSTALMENT OF RENTS ON 28TH, 29TH AND 30TH MARCH 1922 AND COPIES OF TELEGRAMS, AS FOUND IN KANIKA DARBAR RECORDS

Confidential

Rajkanika
26-3-22

My Dear Sir,

We are now collecting the second instalment of rents due for the current Amli year 1329 from the different elakas of the Raj. The 28th, 29th and 30th of this month have been fixed for collection of rents from the headquarter elaka. This elaka is composed of 4 unions Nos. VIII, IX and X of Thana Aul and No. IV of Rajnagar police station.

You are aware that most of the people of unions IX and X of Thana Aul have under the influence of the non-co-operators formed a combination against the Raj and withheld payment of rents and other dues. They tried to prevent the people in other parts of the Raj from paying up rents at the last January instalment but failed. After that they tried to induce people in other elakas to withhold

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payment of the March instalment but to no effect. Information has just been received that with a view to prevent the people of unions No. VIII of Thana Aul and No. IV of Rajnagar police station from paying the March kist the refractory tenants intend picketting and intimidating others by holding meetings at a central place on way to Rajkanika.

As there is every likelihood of a serious breach of the peace occuring between the melia tenants and those who have not joined in the meli, I beg to request the favour of your kindly issuing instruction to the Sub-inspector of Police at Aul to be present here on the above dates (28th, 29th and 30th) to prevent the proposed meetings and the breach of peace they are likely to cause. To prevent delay, I beg to suggest that orders to the Aul police may be intimated by wire or special messenger.

With regards.

Yours sincerely,

To
The Sub-divisional Officer
Kendrapara

Telegrams

1. Copy of telegram dated 22-2-22

To

Santha Charan Behera,
Swaraj ashram, Chandbali

Just starting Delhi congress meeting twentyfourth attendance necessary. Cann't go, shall go.... immediately returning, sending volunteers, observe non-violence, care not

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suffering congress prohibits tax, rent non-payment peacefully resist detrimental settlement violence undoes all shun unnecessary provocation non-violence absolutely necessary starting about twentynineth.

Sd. H. K. Mahtab
Swaraj ashram, Balasore

2. Copy of telegram dated 18-4-22

To

Commissioner
Cuttack

Kendrapara police inspector with six armed police, one constable, four chaukidars and one sub-inspector arrived this morning at Bartani threatened us firing blank shots forcibly snatches keys from Dinabandhu Khandaitray opened his almirah took away all thumb impression papers for government settlement with a bundle of notes of Rs. 5000/- served notice under Sec. 144 on all tenants of Kanika under Kendrapara sub-division arrested Dinabandhu Khandaitray with some others under Section 107 detained them at Rajkanika without food we shall inform what will happen hereafter. They are doing so in consultation with Kanika Raj.

Sd. Chintamani Kabibhusan
Bartani

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3. Copy of telegram dated 18-4-22

To

Magistrate, Cuttack
Governor, Bihar and Orissa, Patna

Kendrapara police inspector with 6 armed police, one constable and four chaukidars and one sub-inspector arrived this morning at Bartani threatened us firing blank shots forcibly snatches keys from Dinabandhu Khandaitray opened his almirah took away all thumb impression papers for government settlement with a bundle of notes of Rs. 5000/- served notice under Section 144 on all tenants of Kanika under Kendrapara sub-division arrested Dinabandhu Khandaitray with some others under Section 107 detained them at Rajkanika without food we shall inform what will happen hereafter they are doing so consulting with Kanika Raj.

Sd. Chintamani Kabibhusan
Bartani

4. Telegram dated 19-4-22

To

Commissioner
Cuttack

Raja with police oppressing us severely eight men wounded lying in Chandbali hospital. Ready to pay travelling come your honour personally save us from oppressing.

Tenants of Kanika
Sd. Chintamani Kabibhusan
Bartani

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5. Copy of telegram dated 20-4-22

To

Commissioner
Cuttack

Solicit reply yesterday's telegram oppression police Kanika Raj growing every moment. If no step taken we shall be compelled leave Kanika estate solicit.... honour's personal appearance urgently.

Chhamuka tenants
Sd. Chintamani Kabibhusan
Hariharpur

6. Copy of telegram dated 23-4-22

To

Sub-Divisional Officer
Kendrapara

Supposing falsely as non-co-operators police consulting with Kanika Raj oppressing us greatly burnt some houses save us from these oppressions by your-personal appearance urgently.

Tenants of Kanika
Sd. Krupasindhu Tarai
Bartani, P. O. Rajkanika

7. Copy of telegram dated 23-4-22

To

The Hon'ble Chief Secretary of
Government of Bihar and Orissa, Patna

Faith in British justice is massacred by the biased Superintendent of Police, Cuttack in favour of the cruel Raj of Kanika. Innocent

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tenants are being hunted by machine guns, four men are killed, nearly 50 wounded two lost arms. All taken away Raja's men are allowed to plunder our house and home, women are assaulted. The wrath of the Supdt. leaves no inhuman atrocities spared. None pay heed to our earnest prayer. We are not even allowed to approach the superintendent British justice at stake human beings are treated like beasts.

Tenants of Kanika Raj
Sd. Jagabandhu Biswal

8. Copy of telegram dated 23-4-22

To
Commissioner of Orissa
Cuttack

Faith in British justice is massacred by the biased superintendent Rai Bahadur Srikrishna Mahapatra in favour of the cruel Raj of Kanika. Innocent tenants are being haunted by guns four men are killed and taken away Raja men are allowed to plunder our house and home women are assaulted. The wrath of the superintendent raised by the purse of Kanika Raj leaves no unhuman atrocities spared none pay heed to our earnest prayers. We are not even allowed to approach the supdt. Human life is treated less than that of beasts.

Tenants of Chhamuka, Kanika
Sd. Jagabandhu Biswal

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9. Copy of telegram dated 23-4-22

To

Inspector-General of Police,
Patna

Biased superintendent of police, Cuttack in favour of Kanika Raj hunts innocent tenants like deer with guns. Four men killed and taken away to unknown place. Women are assaulted. Raja's men are allowed to plunder our houses. We are not allowed to approach superintendent with our earnest prayers. British justice is totally overlooked by the superintendent.

Tenants of Kanika
Sd. Jagabandhu Biswal

10. Copy of telegram dated 23-4-22

To

Commissioner, Cuttack
District Magistrate, Cuttack

Police even superintendent of police being biased at exaggeration Kanika Raj officials taking severe action against us oppressing our family as non-co-operators. Pray issuing immediate order stopping all police actions pending arrival your honour for local enquiry reply communication to Chandbali post.

Sd. Krupasindhu Tarai
on behalf of Kanika tenants

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11. Copy of telegram dated 23-4-22

To

Commissioner
Cuttack

Superintendent police brought cannons which he concealing in jungles and threatening to blow up Aul and Kanika tenants. Please stop this. Come personally or send B. N. Ray Saheb to enquire.

Kanika tenants
Sd. Kapil Biswal, Ganja
Sd. Bhagaban Bal, Bartani

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Appendix - 10

REPORT ON SITUATION IN KANIKA, AS SUBMITTED TO THE COMMISSIONER BY S. K. MAHAPATRA, SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE, CUTTACK, DATED 16TH SEPTEMBER, 1923

(Serial No. 63, Records, Board of Revenue, (1923), *"Report on Situation in Kanika"*, Orissa State Archive, Bhubaneswar)

Confidential

REPORT ON SITUATION IN KANIKA

I visited Kanika under orders of the District Magistrate and enquired into the situation there.

2. It is necessary to refer to certain past events briefly in order to make the present situation clearly understood. The meli which assumed the worst aspect in April, 1922 collapsed as the result of the firing by the police on the 23rd of that month. The members of the meli surrendered and gave undertakings not to pursue non-co-operation any longer or participate in the meli again. The ring-leaders were tried and convicted (nearly 200 men) and with the exception of two or three none appealed and everyone admitted that justice was tempered with mercy. An additional police force was quartered for 6 months at the cost

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of the Raja and the tenants and things quieted down altogether.

3. Subsequent events show that the fate of Kanika is in the hands of agitators. A debate was raised in the legislative council by Babu Bhagabat Prasad Mahapatra, M.L.C. of Bhadrak, in the course of which many sensational allegations were made. Newspapers which are recognised organs of non-co-operation made all kinds of wild allegations without the slightest regard for truth and the least attempt to ascertain the real facts. In November, 1922 when the Raja invited and entertained his tenants one of the papers exclaimed "Beware of the trap". Wherever a meeting was held the principal topic was Kanika. A non-co-operator went all the way to Bombay and convened a meeting there to ventilate Kanika grievances. When allegations made in newspapers and at meetings were refuted, non-co-operation leaders started collecting materials to vindicate their action and all that they collected were mere gossips. The vernacular press made insinuations that Gopabandhu Das, leader of the non-co-operation movement in Orissa, who is now undergoing two years' imprisonment under the Criminal Law Amendment Act was thrown into prison as government desired to gag his mouth and prevent him from exposing Kanika affairs although in his long written statement before the court he did not say a word about Kanika. The conference held at Guamal in the Bhadrak sub-division in April last resolved to appoint a committee to hold an enquiry into Kanika affairs but better wisdom prevailed and no inquiry was held. Agitators outside Kanika

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have done great harm. The malcontents amongst the tenants of Kanika were in close touch with them throughout and the most prominent amongst them were Bhagabat Mahapatra named above and three pleaders of Cuttack viz Babus Kalpataru Das, Bhikari Charan Patnaik and Bichitrananda Das.

4. It will be convinient to give a short account of these four persons here. Babu Bhagabat Mahapatra who was a briefless pleader was elected as vice-chairman of the District Board, Balasore, and while holding that office, committed forgery and criminal breach of trust in respect of District Board money. When the matter came to the notice of Mr. H. K. Deb, I.C.S., District Magistrate, he was down on his knees and resigned his office and refunded the money to save himself from criminal prosecution. His son-in-law, a Moktear of Balasore, was found by me to be the leader of a gang of forgers of that district. He was sent up for trial and committed to the sessions. He was acquitted but it was discovered that Bhagabat had not a clean hand in the matter. Bhagabat is heavily involved in debt and expected pecuniary relief from Dinabandhu Khandaitray, the leader of the meli of whom I will speak later on. Kalpataru Das who was brought up in the house of a relation of Bhagabat in Balasore is a pleader at Cuttack. He is a staunch supporter of the non-co-operation movement and in his anxiety to attain the position of a leader, takes a prominent part in all anti-government movements. Bhikari Charan Patnaik, a pleader, is a creature of Kalpataru Das. Bichitananda Das,

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a pleader, is a schemer and entertains Utopean ideas which, he believes, can be realised only by the destruction of the satanic government.

5. One of the persons of Kanika who is in constant communication with the agitators named above as well as congress workers at Cuttack is Dinabandhu Khandaitray of Bartani. As on the occasion of a previous meli he was the ring-leader of the meli in 1922 and the tenants had selected him to be the Raja of Kanika in consideration of his wealth. He was bound down under Section 107 C.P.C. and his son and brothers were convicted of rioting and sentenced to imprisonment. During the meli he had collected a large sum of money from the tenants of Chhamuka (Cuttack portion of Kanika) to finance the meli and taken thumb impressions from them on sheets of blank paper, saying that they would be used as petitions for reduction of rent etc. The police recovered from his house a large quantity of blank papers with thumb impressions but everything was not recovered particularly those kept in his Chandbali house in the Balasore district. When the tenants convicted in cases arising out of the meli were released from jail, they demanded that the papers bearing their thumb impressions should be returned to them so that they might not be converted into bonds. Dinabandhu is a big mahajan who lends both money and paddy on exorbitant rates of interest and is never lenient towards his debtors. The tenants naturally apprehended that Dinabandhu would misuse the papers bearing their thumb impressions. They also asked for the refund of the money they had paid to Dinabandhu. They

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say it was not less than Rs. 15,000/-. Dinabandhu found his position very uncomfortable and although he had made peace with the Raja, he was not quite confident that his position was secure. So, he consulted the aforesaid agitators who are his advisers and decided to leave Bartani and reside near Chandbali where he had his own zamindari. In fact he used to live there with his family occasionally. His expectation was that he would have a better position at Chandbali (Kuanrsar). He removed in April last and leased out all the land held by him under the Raja of Kanika to one Jagannath Naidu of Cuttack for 8 years. Naidu was not known to Dinabandhu. He was selected by the aforesaid Kalpataru Das and Bhikari Ch. Patnaik. He is an ex-railway servant who known nothing of cultivation and the qualification which secured the post for him is that he is the son-in-law of one Ramna Naidu, a retired postmaster, who is now a clerk in the office of the Cuttack Printing Company of which Kalpataru Das and Bhikari Ch. Patnaik are managing directors. One Mr. Cook was also appointed as Naidu's manager and it is admitted that he was engaged by Bhikari Charan Patnaik. He was an overseer on the Vizag Harbour and was out of employ when this appointment was offered to him. There can be no doubt that the object with which he was engaged on Rs. 100/- a month was to overawe the ignorant tenants. It was the arrival of Naidu and Cook at Bartani on the 25th July with Dinabandhu and 15 men of the Goonda class recruited at Cuttack (they have since left Kanika) and the representation that Cook was a deputy saheb which created a stir

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in the locality. Since then many complain and counter complaints have been received from Dinabandhu Khandaitray and Mr. Cook on one side and the tenants on the other.

6. I held my enquiry at Bartani in the presence of both parties. The tenants of 18 villages presented petitions to me and the allegations made therein were repeated verbally by about 300 tenants. These allegations were to the effect that they were being intimidated by Dinabandhu Khandaitray's son Ghanshyam and brothers Punananda and Sadananda and also by Mr. Cook, that persistant endeavours were being made by these men to revive the congress agitation in Chhamuka, that Ghanshyam had been preaching to them that if they combined as the people of Panchmuka in Balasore had done, they would get much more favourable results from the coming settlement and many advantages which they would never get if they remained subservient to the Raja. Hopes were held out to them that Swaraj would be attained soon as Gandhi's men had been released and Gandhi himself would be released in a few days. Gopabandhu Das would also come out of jail very soon. Some of the tenants definitely alleged that Dinabandhu's son and brothers threatened to bring civil suits against them if they did not obey them.

7. It is difficult to separate the grain from the chaff in such cases but I am inclined to believe that Dinabandhu and his brothers and son are in favour of the revival of the congress propaganda. It is to their advantage to keep the tenants in hand and the best means of keeping them in hand would be through the congress

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organisation as was done in 1922. Dinabandhu and his brothers have got 1200 acres of land under the Raja of Kanika in Chhamuka of which nearly 1100 acres are cultivated by tenants under the half-produce system. Even if Naidu continues to be the lessee, nothing can be done without the help of the tenants. Dinabandhu's idea was that the possession of blank thumb impression papers would give him sufficient control over the tenants but he finds that the tenants are combined against him as the result of which no one has cultivated his land this year. The reasons given by the tenants for not cultivating Dinabandhu's lands this year are that in view of the coming settlement. Dinabandhu wanted to change the land held by each tenant with a view to prevent him from claiming occupancy right in it and that he withheld receipts for the produce delivered to him.

8. To sum up, unlike the situation in Panchmuka (Balasore portion of Kanika) where the relation between the Raja and his tenants continues to be unsatisfactory, the situation in Chhamuka (Cuttack portion of Kanika) is quite satisfactory except the trouble arising out of the case of Dinabandhu Khandaitray. I am assured by the officers of the Raja on one hand and the tenants on the other that there is absolutely nothing wrong at present between the Raja and his tenantry in Chhamuka. But the feeling between Dinabandhu Khandaitray and the tenants of Chhamuka is so intense that it may lead to a breach of the peace at any moment and I am almost sure that a breach of the peace would have already taken place had

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not the sub-divisional magistrate, Kendrapara, left a police guard at Bartani to watch the situation. I wish to keep one head constable and 4 constables there till the situation improves.

9. The easiest solution of the difficulty would be a reconciliation between Dinabandhu Khandaitray and the tenants and the best persons to do it is the Raja, but I find that while the Raja's manager is prepared to help Dinabandhu (the Raja was not at Kanika so I was unable to see him) and the tenants ensure me that all feuds will end if they get back their money and "thumb impression" papers. Dinabandhu and his brothers who are almost illiterate and have no views of their own are entirely in the hands of agitators who wish to keep up the agitation with profit to themselves and pleasure to a section of the vernacular press.

10. That the tenants are in earnest about the "thumb impression" papers is evident from the fact that 23 of them have filed a suit in the court of the Munsif of Kendrapara against Dinabandhu and others for the recovery of those papers.

11. I have issued elaborate instructions to the local police to watch the situation and keep the authorities informed. If the situation does not improve it will be necessary to take legal action against the aggressors whoever they may be.

12. The sub-divisional officer was unable to come with me to Kanika as his second officer was lying ill

Dt. 16.9.23

Sd. S. K. Mahapatra
Superintendent of Police
Cuttack

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Appendix - 11

EXTRACT FROM A PATRIOT, "THE RAJA BAHADUR OF KANIKA" *PROGRESS*, THE INDEPENDENT WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE, X-MAS & NEW YEAR NUMBER, VOL. 1, NO. 21, CUTTACK, 1947-48, PP. 5, 17 & 18

THE RAJA BAHADUR OF KANIKA

By a patriot

An interesting figure

The introduction, in the course of the article, of the activities of a man belonging to the old and vanishing order, will, the writer believes, certainly not be pleasing to a section of readers who style themselves as revolutionaries. The propriety of such an article appearing in a magazine entitled and pledged to progress may as well be questioned. The writer, however, would beg of his impatient critics to bear in mind certain facts. The elementary pre-requisite for any progress of a society is a complete detached outlook on men and matters freed from the trammels of conventional and fascinating dogmas. In such a society every individual is evaluated according to the positive contribution he makes to the nation irrespective of his

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affiliation, past or present or the particular 'ism' he holds dear. Judged from this angle of thought, the Raja Bahadur of Kanika, who had much to do with the shaping of the destiny of the present province of Orissa, will ever remain an interesting figure in the history of this infant province.

Entry into public life

Sir Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, the septuagenarian Raja Bahadur of Kanika, belongs to that class of intellectual aristocracy whom ailing and dismembered Orissa of nearly half a century back considered as her natural leaders- Maharaja Sriram Chandra of Mayurbhanj, Sir Basudeb Sudhal Deb of Bamra and Raja Harihar Mardaraj Deb of Khallikote to mention a few. "Unification of the Oriya tracts into a separate province or perish under the heels of foreign culture and domination"— were the slogan of the day. The prevailing discontent of the Oriyas found expression in the first session of the Utkal union conference held at Cuttack in the year 1903. The Raja Bahadur began his public life possibly from this date by becoming the chairman of the reception committee to adorn three years later the chair of presidentship of the Berhampur session of the same conference. The year 1909 saw his entry into parliamentary politics, when he, along with one solitary Oriya, the late M. S. Das (whose lieutenant he later became) was elected to the Bengal Legislative Council. Together they opposed the passing of

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the O.T. Act in that council as Orissa was being seperated from Bengal. Though the O. T. Act was passed by the then Bengal council, it was vetoed by the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. The Late M. S. Das and the Raja Bahadur again joined hands in opposing the tagging of Orissa to Bihar on seperation from Bengal. They represented the matter to both the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge and the secretary of state for India, Marquis of Crew. As a consequence Lord Hardinge came over to Cuttack and held the first Durbar at Cuttack in 1913. The viceroy promised to Raja Bahadur to have the summer capital of the provincial government in Orissa if a suitable place was found. Sir Ali Imam was requested to come and visit the Meghasani in Mayurbhanj and a date was fixed for his arrival. But unfortunately, just before that, Maharaja Sriram Chandra met with a serious accident in shikar and ultimately lost his life. So the question of summer capital at the Meghasani was dropped and instructions were given to the Lt. Governor to spend a certain time of the year at Puri instead.

Active part in the commission

The year 1911 to 1916 saw repeated elections of Raja Bahadur to the provincial and imperial legislative assemblies from the land-holders constituency of Bihar, Orissa & Chotanagpur. A resolution was moved by him in the central assembly for the amalgamation of outlying Oriya tracts into a separate province

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which subsequently led to the appointment of Phillips-Duff commission. The Raja Bahadur succeeded in his efforts in bringing the influence of Ganjam landlords in favour of amalgamation of Ganjam district with Orissa. Again, it was thought his efforts that he and Dewan Bahadur Laxmidhar Mohanty were co-opted as members to represent Orissa in Simon commission. He arranged deputation of the Oriyas to represent the cause of Orissa before that commission and also moved the said committee to appoint a sub-committee to go into the question of a separate province for Orissa. The sub-committee was appointed with Mr. Attlee, the present premier of England as the president and Raja Bahadur, D. B. Laxmidhar Mohanty and Mr. A. Suhrawardy as members. The question was gone into thoroughly and a separate province for Orissa was recommended by the sub-committee. The Raja Bahadur, could not sign the reports as he was then appointed a member of the executive council of Bihar & Orissa. He, however, took active part in sending the Maharaja of Parlakemedi to the round table conference representing both Orissa & Madras & ultimately in bringing a portion of Parlakemadi into Orissa. His busy parliamentary activities extending well nigh thirty years and singularly representative of Orissan interest ended in his membership of the Orissa Advisory Committee and membership of the Orissa assembly in the year 1937. Along side his political, his zeal for social and humanitarian work has been equally exhibited in the founding of the Rajkanika H.

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E. School (at a time when there were few such schools in Orissa) extensive protective works for the development and security of agriculture, several dispensaries, roads and embankments for the benefit of the tenants and liberal munificence to the construction of Woodburn Females Wards and Kanika Cottages (attached to the general hospital) & Kanika library at the Ravenshaw College.

Political prevision

The Raja Bahadur, however, may be considered as unfortunate in that his activities, directed to the well-being of his land of birth, have not been properly represented in a section of the press considered patriotic and wielding the most powerful influence in moulding popular opinion. All his actions, political and philanthropic have been imputed to a careerist motive. Well said. No action is unmotivated. But where was the possibility of the member of a neglected race like that of Oriyas in Morley and Montford days to occupy the position of dignity which came to Raja Bahadur as late as 1929 ? It is exactly like assuming that Mahatab or Choudhury courted jail in 1921 anticipating to become honourable ministers in 1946. Again like so may liberal patriots of those days i.e. Sir Surendranath, Sastri or Sapru, Sir Rajendra might not have seen eye to eye with the direct action campaign launched upon by the congress. He was in line with his political guru, the late M. S. Das, universally regarded as the maker of modern Orissa in considering that infiltration

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of congress activities into Orissa was dangerous for her independent existence as she was not to get any direct and immediate benefit by non-co-operation with the British government. Orissa's identity, they feared, would be submerged in all India politics. Madhusudan's difference with the late Pandit Gopabandhu on this point is well-known. Later events specially that occuring in the Calcutta session of the congress in the year 1928 under the Presidentship of late Motilal Nehru (where the resolution for a separate province for Orissa was thrown out by the chair) have justified how far Raja Bahadur's calculations were correct and how far his collaboration with the Simon commission for the creation of a separate province for Orissa be considered as unpatriotic from the Oriya point of view ?

A pioneer in Orissa

We leave Raja Bahadur's politics, certainly a matter of controversy at this and discuss some aspects of this life where he happens to be pioneer in Orissa. He was the first Hindu from Orissa to visit Europe in 1907. His example was soon followed by the late Maharaja Sriramchandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhanj and many other Oriyas. He was the first Oriya to join the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in England in 1910 (to which he was recommended by late Lord Sinha of Raipur who was a member of that Inn) and the first and the last Oriya to be appointed as member of the executive council of Bihar and Orissa by His Majesty under royal warrant. He

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was the vice-president of the executive council, holding amongst many, the important portfolios of finance and justice. Besides officiating as Governor and in that capacity holding the provincial Durbar at Ranchi in 1933, he had the unique distinction of serving as member in the Patna university committee (under the chairmanship of Mr. Nathan) & South Borough Parliamentary Committee. These might have been his personal achivements that had nothing to do with the country of his birth, but certainly at a time when Oriyas were neglected everywhere, his triumph had something in it to tickle their national vanity.

Need for rational outlook

It is not the intention of the writer to defend Raja Bahadur in everything he did (like every human being he might have erred in some direction) or the zamindary system of which he is a living emblem. This together with other outworn institutions may not survive the dynamics of the present age. A new rejuvenated and healthy Orissa is in the process of making. To make the edifice of its foundation stronger, mobilisation of Orissa's best available talents belonging to all schools of thought is essential. Patriotism is never anybody's exclusive property. There may not be any place for a man of the type of Raja Bahadur in power politics of the present or future but the country can ill afford to lose the guidance of such a distinguished son (having only the disqualification of age) possessing vast administrative experience & love of Orissa

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(to the extent of being labelled as a Obad Indian but good riya) in her day to day nation building activities.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jitamitra Prasad Singh Deo, is an individual field archaeologist, Khariar. He is credited with the discovery of pre-historic Cave paintings of Yogimath Bonger, Ghat Chumar rock shelter, copper plates, gold coins of Sarabhapuriya dynasty, clay seal, stone seal of Panduvamsi dynasty, Kalachuri coins, terra-cottas, beads and sculptures of many types. With the presentation of his findings, "Khariar Branch Museum" was opened by Govt. of Orissa in 1976. His few archaeological findings are presented to "Dr. N. K. Sahu Museum" of Sambalpur University and Orissa State Museum. He is life member of Institute of Historical Studies Calcutta, Orissa History Congress and Red-Cross Society, President of 'Khariar Sahitya Samiti", which has already celebrated its centenary and Archaeological Committee, Khariar. Author of 'Cultural Profile of South Kosala', 'Origin of Jagannath Deity' and has contributed to different research Journal, Bulletins, Periodicals, Magazines and Papers.

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